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TRANSACTIONS OF THE
CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
INCORPORATED A. D. 1799

VOLUME 20, PAGES 1-131 MAY, 1915

The Materials for the History of Dor

BY

GEORGE DAHL, PH.D.

Assistant Professor of Old Testament Literature,
School of Religion, Yale University

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

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SOME OF THE ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Baed. (4):	Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 4th edit. 1906.
C.I.S.:	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.*
C.O.T.:	E. Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. O. C. Whitehouse, 1885.
Guér., *Sam.*:	H. V. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine*, II Samarie, 1874-5.
K.H.A.T.:	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament* (ed. Marti).
O.S.:	*Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde; 2nd ed. 1887.
P.E.F.Q.:	Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statements.*
R.:	Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, I—V (1861-84), IV$^{(2)}$ (1891).
S.B.O.T.:	*Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (ed. P. Haupt).
S.W.P.:	*Survey of Western Palestine.* Palestine Exploration Fund.
Tab. Peut.:	*Tabula Peutingeriana* (ed. E. Desjardins, 1869-74).

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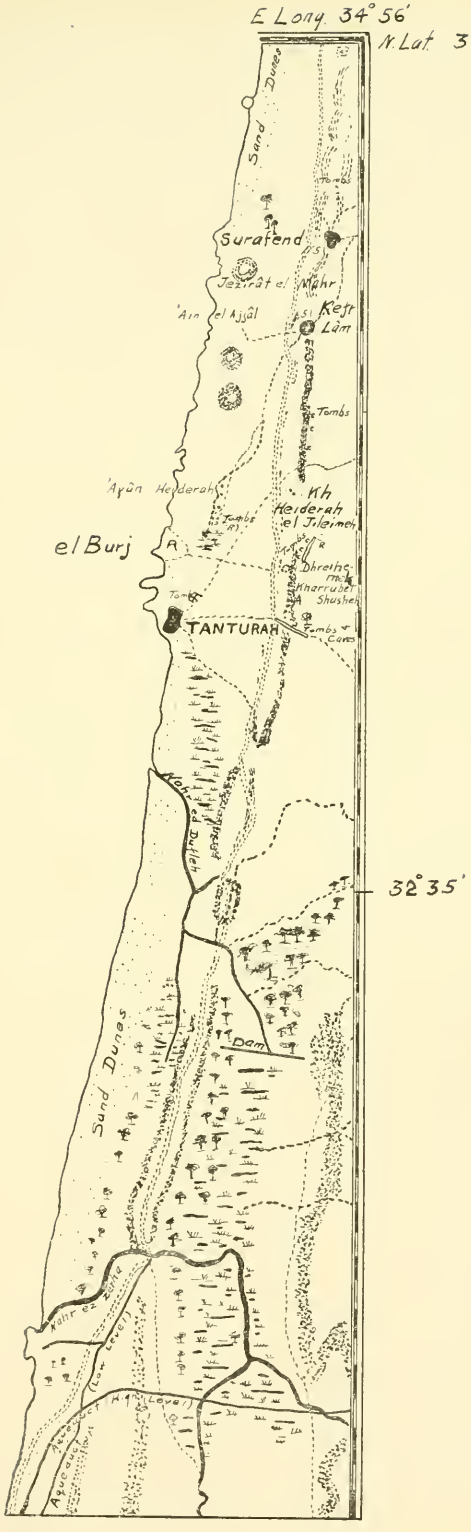

DOR AND ITS ENVIRONS.

FOREWORD.

There seems to be room for a careful and critical examination of the sources for the history of the little-known city of Dor. This work presents the results of an investigation which has aimed to take into account all the extant literature bearing on the subject. So far as possible the testimony of sources has been carefully sifted and weighed. It is to be hoped that the evidence of excavations on the site of the city may sometime be available to increase our knowledge gained from the literary remains.

To Professor C. C. Torrey of Yale University, my sincerest appreciation and most grateful thanks are due for many helpful suggestions and for inspiration gained through conference with him. I wish also to extend my thanks to Professor W. Max Müller of the University of Pennsylvania for information regarding the Egyptian form, D-ïra. To Professor A. T. Clay of Yale University I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for assistance in the preparation of the chapter on "Dor in Assyrian Literature."

TOPOGRAPHY OF DOR.

Beginning at the headland of Mount Carmel, the great Maritime Plain of Palestine extends southwards for a distance of about one hundred miles. This plain naturally divides into three portions[1]. The north corner, lying between Mount Carmel and the Mediterranean, begins as a narrow pass some two hundred yards wide between the Carmel headland and the sea, gradually broadening until at its southern extremity, the Crocodile River (mod. Nahr el-Zerḳā), it is eight miles wide. Its length from Carmel to the Zerḳā is nearly twenty miles. From the Crocodile River the second portion of the Maritime Plain, the Plain of Sharon, widening from eight miles to twelve, rolls southward some forty-four miles to the Nahr Rūbīn and a line of low hills to the south of Ramleh. To the south of the Plain of Sharon, the last division, the Plain of Philistia, extends a distance of forty miles to the River of Egypt (the Wady el-'Arīsh).

In the southern part of the first of these divisions lies the village Ṭanṭūra, successor to the ancient city of Dor[2]. Ṭanṭūra lies in northern latitude[3] 32° 36′ 35″, in eastern longitude from Greenwich 34° 54′ 40″. The ruins of Dor, known as el-Burj or Khŭrbet Ṭanṭūra[4], are located about one-half mile directly north of the modern town. Dor proper lies therefore in latitude 32° 36′ 50″, longitude 34° 54′ 40″. Its distance from the headland of Carmel and from Ḥaifa is about fourteen and one-half miles south. It is about six and one-half miles south of 'Athlīt, which was the chief city of the district during the Crusades[5]. Caesarea[6], built by

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[1] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 147 f.

[2] C. R. Conder, in Hast. *D.B.* s. v. Dor, seems now inclined to reject his earlier identification of Ṭanṭūra with Dor (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12; *S. W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3). The location of the town, however, agrees so well with the data at hand that nearly all writers accept the identification as practically certain.

[3] P.E.F., *Map of Palestine*, Sheet 7, I j; Ptolemy (*Nat. Hist.* V, 15, 5) locates Dor in 66° 30′, 32° 40′.

[4] *S.W.P. Mem.*, II, p. 7.

[5] Then called Castellum Peregrinorum (Buhl, *Geog.*, p. 211); *P.E.F.Q.* 1874, p. 12.

[6] Anciently Στράτωνος Πύργος (G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 138 ff.).

Herod the Great in time to become the capital of the Roman province of Judea, lies eight miles south of Dor[1].

Ṭanṭūra, the modern town, an unimportant village of a few hundred Moslem inhabitants[2], lies along the coast. South of the village stretches a fine open sandy beach; northwards the shore is rocky as far as the Jezīret el-Mŭkr[3]. To the east and southeast lies a swamp[4]. A short distance to the south of the town is the Nahr el-Dufleh[5], a stream some five to ten yards across and apparently perennial; still farther south, on the way to Caesarea, one crosses the Nahr el-Zerḳā, the Crocodile River of the ancients. In the sea, opposite the town, are several small islands; these combine with a slight curve in the beach to form a sort of harbor for the small coasting craft. On the north this little bay is protected by a rocky point that juts out into the sea in the form of a promontory[6]. North of this promontory is another ancient port; evidently there was here a double harbor[7]. The buildings of the town itself are for the most part mud cabins one story high, lying along the beach[8]; stones taken from the ruins to the north have been used in building the better houses[9]. To the east is a square stone building[10] used as a *meḍāfeh*, or "guest house," for passing travelers.

[1] According to the Tab. Peut. the distance from Cesaria to Thora (sic) is VIII (Roman miles); Eus. and Jerome (*O.S.* 283:3; 142:13-15) make it nine Roman miles.

[2] Baed. (4) (1906) p. 231; *Enc. Bib.* s. v.; *S.W.P.*, *Mem.* II, p. 3; Buckingham (*Trav. in Pal.*, p. 123; so von Raumer, *Palästina* (3), p. 154, in 1850) in 1823, estimated the population at 500 souls, with 40 or 50 dwellings; Guérin (*Sam.* 2, 305 f.) in 1874 says 1200 inhabitants (but Guérin seems to overestimate the population of several towns in this district). According to the Population List of the Liva of 'Akka (reported by G. Schumacher, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 181, no. 38) there were in 1887, 154 Moslem men between 16 and 60 years of age; this would give an estimated total of about 770 souls; the town at that time was growing (*Ibid.* p. 84).

[3] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 1; Buhl, *Geog.*, p. 32; see map.

[4] Baed. (4), pp. 231 f; *Pal. Expl. Map*, Sheet 7; Buhl, *Geog.*, p. 211.

[5] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, Map VI, opp. p. 379, errs in making Wady el-Dufleh tributary to the Nahr el-Zerḳā. The Nahr el-Dufleh is also called Nahr el-Ḳarājeh (*S.W.P.*, *Name Lists*, p. 140).

[6] Guér., *Sam.* 2:305 f; *P.E.F.Q.*, (1887), p. 84; Ibid. (1873), p. 100.

[7] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.* p. 130; see page 11 below.

[8] Buhl, *Geog.*, p. 211; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3.

[9] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 84; Guér., *Sam.* 2:305.

[10] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3.

Guérin[1] mentions two mosques, both partly in ruins in his time, one of which contained several ancient granite columns. With the increasing prosperity of the town, a number of good-looking granaries have risen near the seashore[2]. There is a well northeast of the village[3]. Many of the inhabitants are sailors and fishermen; for the rest, the industries of the town are mainly agricultural and pastoral. In the fields to the east and the south grain is raised, part of which is exported in small coastwise sailing vessels[4]. As is usually the case in Palestine, the property of the natives of Ṭanṭūra consists chiefly in herds of cattle and goats[5]. The inhabitants share the greedy avarice and the thieving propensities so universal in that land[6]. On the whole, Ṭanṭūra is a typical Palestinian coast town.

A few minutes to the north of the modern village lie scattered about the ruins of ancient Dor. These ruins[7] consist of a mound covered with debris, with a fallen tower to the south; the remains of a double harbor and of a colonnaded building adjacent to the more northerly port; a large cistern now called El-Ḥannāneh; and an ancient causeway leading north and south to the east of the town. Rock-cut tombs are also to be found in the neighborhood.

The most conspicuous object to former travellers was the ruined tower, visible at every point from Carmel to Caesarea, perhaps dating from the period of the Crusades[8], which stood on a low rocky promontory to the south of the mound. South of this promontory, in the direction of the modern town, is a sandy beach and

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[1] *Sam.* 2:305 f. (1874-75); the Chevalier d'Arvieux, c. 1700 (in Labat. *Merkwürdige Nachrichten,* II. pp. 11-13), states that the inhabitants had no mosques; so Buckingham (*Trav. in Pal.*, p. 123) in 1821; writers after Guérin (e. g., *Pal. Ex. Fund. Mem.*, Baed., etc.) make no mention of a mosque.

[2] Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 84.

[3] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3.

[4] Sir C. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine,* pp. 115 f.; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, pp. 3, 35; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 84.

[5] Sir C. Wilson, *ibid.*

[6] Van de Velde, *Narrat.* I, 333; Buckingham, *Travels*, p. 123; the Chevalier d'Arvieux (in Labat, *Merkwürdige Nachrichten,* III, pp. 74-82).

[7] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 7; Guér., *Sam.* 2:306 ff.

[8] Murray, *Handbook* (1875), p. 358; *Enc. Bib.* s. v. Dor; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f.—It is easily possible that most of these ruins are from a period later than that of the Crusades.

bay. On the north the chief ruins of ancient Dor line the shore. A deep moat separated the tower from the town. The height of the tower was about 40 feet; its top was 58.8 feet above the sea-level. The tower formed the northeast corner of a square fortress; the foundations of another corner tower can be seen near by. The whole was built of rubble and small stones, faced with well-cut stones about two feet six inches long and two feet high. The mortar was very thickly laid around the stones, and contained pieces of red pottery. The style and material of construction and a pointed arch in the east wall would seem to indicate that the tower was Crusading work. The foundations, however, are evidently much older[1]. On the 15th of January, 1895, the tower collapsed, leaving nothing of this important landmark but a heap of debris and the foundations[2]. It is safe to assume that the tower stones suitable for building purposes have long since been carried off to near-by Ṭanṭūra or to other towns along the coast[3].

The mound, covering the site of the city itself, is about two hundred yards long, and comprises an area of several acres adjacent to the sea[4]. Broken masonry and fragments of glass and pottery cover it. Of the larger stones only a few pillar shafts remain, the greater part of the fallen blocks having been dug up and removed. The mound extends as far as the promontory on which the tower stands. Its flat top is about twenty to thirty feet above the level of the shore. On the edge of the mound near the sea, east of the debris of the tower, the mutilated remains of a colonnade may be seen. The bases and capitals are of a rude Byzantine character, resembling those found east of the Jordan and elsewhere, which are dated as of the fifth century[5]. The shafts are three feet in diameter. East of this colonnade is the moat mentioned above near which a number of drums of columns lie scattered about on the ground[6]. The city walls can no longer be clearly traced.

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[1] Guér., *Sam.* 2:306.

[2] Dr. G. Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1895, p. 113.

[3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1883, p. 99; *ibid.*, 1887, p. 84.

[4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8; Guérin (*Sam.* 2:308) gives the dimensions of ancient Dor as 1200 meters long and about 670 meters wide; this evidently includes the various ruins, graves, etc., outside the city proper.

[5] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8.

[6] *Ibid.*; Guér., *Sam.* 2:307.

Like nearly all of the Syrian ports, Dor seems to have had a double harbor, facing north and south, whose two basins insured protection against winds from all directions[1]. This is the only kind of port practicable along the almost harborless coast. Both Sidon and Tyre had double ports[2]. Here at Ṭanṭūra the tower promontory separated the two harbors. The harbor south of the promontory contains the ruins of artificial moles in the sea[3], built to increase the size and security of the harbor. North of the promontory are the remains of a more considerable port. In the sea here is a peculiar scarped reef, through which a narrow passage has been cut to form an entrance to the harbor. Apparently this passage was curved, about fifty yards long with sides from eight to ten feet high. As at Tyre, the entrance to this passage was probably closed at one time by a chain or boom[4]. For the small boats of ancient times this double harbor, protected as it was by the promontory and by moles, offered fairly safe shelter.

Near the shore of the northern harbor a number of columns lie on the ground, each about one foot six inches in diameter, with simple square base[5]. The material of which these columns are made is the same coarse limestone as that of which the tower was built and is evidently taken from the quarries in the neighborhood. They seem to be the remains of a building close to the water, perhaps the temple of some maritime deity[6]. Just north of these columns there are four rock-cut tombs in the cliff[7]. One of these tombs has two loculi, the second a square chamber, and the third and fourth have three loculi each.

On the north harbor shore itself are three retaining walls, the remains of a maritime building. The southern wall is built against the north face[8] of the promontory on which the tower formerly

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[1] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, p. 130.

[2] F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon*, p. 4; Hast., *D.B.* s.v. Zidon and Tyre.

[3] Guér., *Sam.* 2:306; Murray, *Handbook* (1875) p. 358.

[4] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, pp. 8, 9; Baed. (4) pp. 231 ff.

[5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8; Guér., *Sam.* 2:307. These columns were ten in number as reported by P. E. F. Survey and Guérin; doubtless some have been taken away since then.

[6] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12.

[7] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8.

[8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f.; *ibid.*, 1874, p. 12; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 8; Guérin (*Sam.* 2:307) describes these as the remains of two adjoining buildings.

stood. The work seems to be Roman[1]. The walls are built of perfectly-shaped blocks of coarse limestone, the stones measuring five feet six inches in length, two feet six inches in breadth, and two feet two inches in height. The total height of the walls is about fifteen feet, the thickness six feet. The masonry is laid, like brickwork, in alternate courses of headers and stretchers; an excellent cement is used. North and south the original building measured thirty paces; the side-walls are about eleven paces in length, the northern projecting nearly to the water. In front of this building there are a number of large flat slabs of the same size as the stones in the walls. These formed the pavement of what was apparently a wharf[2]. In the water a small jetty is visible. This large building was probably for the accommodation of sailors and traders, used doubtless as a storehouse and a market[3].

Continuing north from this building one finds on the shore the debris of several buildings. There are also a couple of small bays protected from the west winds by small islands. In one of these bays a long wall juts out into the water, evidently a pier of some sort; on the shore is a wharf paved with large stones. These ruins extend beyond the limits of the mound itself, making a total shore line of some 1200 meters in length[4].

The ruins of El-Hannāneh[5], an ancient cistern just east of the causeway, are connected with the town by the remains of a road. The cistern is built of stones measuring from two feet to three feet six inches in length, and is about ten paces square. The interior is lined with rubble coated with a hard white cement. The mortar behind this cement is thickly bedded and contains large pieces of pottery. There is a shallow round well of ashlar close to the north wall of the cistern. The work, resembling as it does that of the

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99f.

[2] At the present time, however, the level of the water is by no means high enough to reach this wharf. (Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XVI, *West. Asien*, p. 608). Guthe (*Palästina*, p. 27) shows that even within historical times a change in the relative level of the Palestinian coast and the Mediterranean has taken place. He maintains that the land has gradually risen, while the level of the water has at the same time been sinking.

[3] Guér., *Sam.* 2:307; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12.

[4] Guér., *Sam.* 2:307f.; Murray (*Handbook*, 1875, p. 358) says one-half mile.

[5] Baed. (4), pp. 231ff.; *S.W.P. Mem.* II. p. 9; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99f.; written الحنّانة "hydraulic machine," or "waterwheel."

walls of Caesarea, probably belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The causeway[1], lying east of the town and running north and south, is traceable here for about a quarter of a mile. This was the great coast highroad to Egypt; here and there, as for example at ʿAyūn Ḥeiderah, the ruts of the light chariot wheels are still visible on the rock. At the time when this road was in general use this region was doubtless covered with villages and as prosperous as any other part of Palestine. On one side of the causeway, just south of El-Ḥannāneh, there were nine[2] granite columns; three were planted perpendicularly touching one another; south of these were three more, also touching; the remaining three were fallen and scattered about. Their diameter was one foot six inches; they were without base or capital, having only a simple fillet at the upper end of the shaft; they were partly sunk in rubbish. Inasmuch as the arrangement of these shafts is similar to that of some of the milestones on Roman roads, it is quite likely that they had been taken from an older building and used to mark the ninth Roman mile from Caesarea[3].

East of this coast road and parallel to the sea stretches a rocky ridge, forty to fifty feet high and some three hundred yards broad[4]. This ridge, commencing in sand dunes about three miles southwest of Mt. Carmel, gradually increases in regularity and hardness of rock, until, between ʿAthlīt and Ṭanṭūra, it is about fifty feet high. Its southern limit is a few miles south of Caesarea. It serves to separate the narrow coast plain, about a mile wide, in which Dor is situated, from the inland plain to the east. The ridge seems to have formed a protection against hostile incursions, for the stone has been quarried in such manner as to leave a narrow crest on the summit, which makes a protecting wall of living stone. In at least four places passages have been cut through the ridge, and show traces of having been closed by gates. Numerous tombs, dating probably from the early Christian centuries, have been cut in the ridge.

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[1] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 9; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1874, p. 12.

[2] Whether all these columns are still in place is questionable. Probably part or all have been carried away.

[3] *O.S.*, 142:13-15; 283:3.

[4] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 1; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, p. 99; Guér., *Sam.* 2:308; van de Velde, *Narrat.* 1:333; Buhl, *Geog. des alt. Pal.*, p. 32.

Almost directly east of ancient Dor, near the ruins called Dreihemeh[1], is one of the rock-cut passages, leading to the plain to the east[2]. This is the most southern of the passages cut through the ridge. It is apparently of considerable antiquity, with rock-cut tombs and guard houses in the sides. The average breadth of the passage is fifteen feet, its height ten feet and its length about two hundred feet in all. Near the entrance to this cutting is a semi-circular apse cut into the rock[3]. The radius of this apse is thirteen feet five inches; two steps lead up from the present floor to the surface of the rock. At each end and in the middle of the semicircle are square holes, evidently intended for pillars. The presence of a quarry to the west containing stones not quite broken out of the rock lends weight to the suggestion that the work is an unfinished basilica.

The whole ridge near Dor seems to have been extensively used as a quarry for the ancient town. In some places considerable quantities of stone have been removed. Here, too, was the principal necropolis of the city[4]. A large number of the tombs are still preserved, though all have been plundered. Some of them are single, while others contain a number of "kokīm" or burial chambers. In many of the kokīm the stone has been left higher at one end, to form a sort of stone pillow.

Between the modern city and the ruins of ancient Dor there has been discovered a large and interesting tomb[5]. It is a chamber fourteen and one-half feet wide by nineteen and one-half feet long. There are on the left five kokīm, each measuring seven feet by three feet; at the back there are three, and at the right four. In the four corners of the chamber are four smaller chambers, apparently double kokīm, for receiving two bodies each. The entrance to the tomb is a long passage descending by steps to the door. The door is square, with an arch above it outside. On the left of the entering passage is another koka, also measuring seven by three feet. Bones and skulls were found in the tomb. In the

[1] Arab. درهيمة (diminutive form), meaning a small silver coin: Greek δραχμή.

[2] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 11.

[3] Dr. G. Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1889, p. 191; is this the "excavation resembling a small theater" mentioned by Murray (*Handbook*, 1875, p. 358)?

[4] Guér., *Sam.* 2:308.

[5] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 10.

double corner koka at the back on the left there is a niche eighteen inches high and nine inches across, probably intended for a lamp. This tomb is of the same general type as the others found in the neighborhood, and apparently dates from at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era.

Among the more important ruins near Dor, Dreihemeh[1] deserves mention. It lies east of the mound, commanding the entrance to the rock-cut passage through the ridge[2]. There are here ruins of buildings, several columns and a number of tombs. Guérin speaks of an ancient well here, Bir Drimeh (بير دريمة), cut in the rock, square in shape, and with holes dug in its side to permit one to descend to the bottom[3]. North of Dreihemeh lie the ruins and tombs of Khŭrbet Ḥeiderah[4]. There is here a shaft ten feet deep and sixteen feet wide at the top, with a staircase and small recesses in its side. At the springs called ʻAyūn Ḥeiderah[5] there are deep ruts in the stone three feet, three inches apart and about six inches wide each, made, probably, by the carts of the Crusaders. Here are also tombs cut in the rocky ridge. A foot-path crosses the coast plain diagonally from Ṭanṭūra to Kefr Lām[6], a small village of mud hovels crowded within the walls of an ancient Crusading fort; the distance is about two and one-half miles. Farther north the village of Ṣŭrafend[7], a small collection of mud cabins with ruins to the north, stands upon the ridge.

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[1] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 11; Guér., *Sam.* 2:309.

[2] See p. 14.

[3] Guérin (*Sam.* 2:309) finds in the name Drimeh the Greek name Δρυμός of Strabo (*Geog.* XVI, 2:28) and Josephus (*B.J.I.*, 13:2; *Ant.* XIV, 13:3), described as being the region adjacent to Mt. Carmel. The Greek word signifies "oak-coppice." On the other hand, the form of the name as given by the P.E.F. (see note 1, p. 14) is Dreihemeh, apparently a diminutive form from the Greek *δραχμή* and denoting "a small silver coin." It is quite possible that the Greek Δρυμός has in popular use been changed to Dreihemeh as a form more easily understandable.

[4] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 30; Guér., *Sam.* 2:308.

[5] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 6, حيدرة ="declivity," "descent," or possibly "lion." (*S.W.P., Name Lists*, p. 140; Lane's *Arab. Dict.*)

[6] Wilson, *Pict. Pal.*, pp. 114 ff.; *S.W.P. Mem.* II. p. 3.

[7] *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 4; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XVI, p. 113.

THE NAME DOR.

Dor appears in the Old Testament under the two forms: דֹּאר[1] and דּוֹר[2]. In the Eshmunazar[3] inscription דאר is used. The Assyrian[4] inscriptions witness to the form Du-'-ru (or Du-'u-ru); the Egyptian Papyrus Golenischeff writes D-ïṛạ[5]. Among Greek writers Δῶρος and Δῶρα are the forms in which the name most frequently occurs; but Δωρά[6] and Δοῦρα[7] are also found. Pliny[8] uses Doron (or Dorum), and the Tabula Peutingeriana[9] gives the name as Thora. The form Δῶρος is found mainly in the earlier writers; Δῶρα later becomes universal. Nevertheless Stephan of Byzantium, writing as late as the fifth century A. D., prefers the older form Δῶρος. The following authors give the name of this town as Δῶρος: Scylax (c. 500 B. C.), Apollodorus (c. 140 B. C.), Alexander of Ephesus (c. 50 B.C.) and Charax (c. 150 A. D.)[10]. To this same category belongs Pliny's Doron or Dorum[11]. Δῶρα (variants Δωρά and Δώρα), the second and later of these two forms, appears in 1 Macc. 15:11, 13, 25; it is used by Artemidorus[12] (c. 100 B.C.), by Claudius Iolaus[13] (c. 50 A. D.), by Josephus, by Ptolemaus[14] (between 127 and 151 A. D.), in the Clementine Recognitiones[15] (prob. c. 225 A. D.), by Eusebius (*O. S.* (2) 250[56]), Jerome (*ibid.* 115[22]), Hierocles[16] (6th century ?), in the list of Bishops in Le Quien[17],

[1] Josh. 17:11 ; 1 Kings 4:11.
[2] Josh. 11:2 ; 12:23 ; Jdg. 1:27 ; 1 Chron. 7:29.
[3] Line 19 ; *C.I.S.*, I, 3 ; Lidzbarski, *Taf.* IV[2].
[4] II R. 53, no. 1, rev. line 40 ; *ibid.* no. 4, line 57.
[5] Müller, *Asien u. Eur.*, p. 388.
[6] 1 Macc. 15:11, 13, 25.
[7] Polybius, *Historiae*, V : 66.
[8] *Natural History*, 5:17.
[9] Ed. Desjardins, Segment IX.
[10] The three last named in *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος.
[11] *Nat. Hist.* 5:17.
[12] *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος.
[13] *Ibid.*; for the correct form of the name (i. e. Iolaus), see C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, IV, 362-364.
[14] V, 15:5 = Ed. Didot, V, 14:3.
[15] *Clem. Recogn.*, IV: 1.
[16] *Synecdème*, ed. Parthy, p. 43.
[17] *Oriens Christianus* III, 574 ff.—of the 5th and early 6th centuries.

by Geographus Ravennas[1], by Guido[2], by Georgius Cyprius (♯1000)[3] and on coins[4]. To this list must be added Polybius (V[66]: Δοῦρα) and the Tabula Peutingeriana ("Thora")[5]. First Maccabees makes Δωρά an indeclinable noun; usually it is treated as a neuter plural[6]; occasionally it is regarded as a feminine singular[7].

How are we to account for the variations in the Greek form of the name? To the Hebrew דאר (or דוֹר) early Greek writers would most naturally attach the masculine ending *-os*, partly influenced perhaps by the name of the Greek hero Doros[8]. Thus the earlier Greek form of the town's name arose. As the Aramaic language, however, began to supplant the Hebrew, the Aramaic determinative ending ָא[9] was added to the original name, giving the form דּוֹרָא (or דֹּארָא). The translator of 1 Maccabees was well acquainted with the Aramaic language and therefore used Δωρά as an indeclinable noun. Most Greek writers, on the other hand, would represent this ending either as a feminine singular or a neuter plural form. There would naturally be no fixed rule for the accent of the Greek form of this Aramaic name; and, as a matter of fact, we find that in various writers and different manuscripts of the same writer, the accents vary widely. Stephan of Byzantium[10] prefers as the ethnic form of the name of this town, Δωριτης. This form is derivable from either Δῶρα or Δῶρος, as he proves by analogies drawn from the ethnics of other towns. He mentions, however,

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[1] Edd. Pinder et Parthey, pp. 89, 357.

[2] *Geographica*, § 94.

[3] Ed. Gelzer, p. 51.

[4] G. F. Hill, *Coins of Phoen.*, pp. LXXV, 118.—Hecataeus (c. 500 B. C.) in *Steph. Byz.* s. v. Δῶρος reads: *μετὰ δὲ ἡ πάλαι Δῶρος, νῦν δὲ Δῶρα καλεῖται.* This statement in its present form can hardly be original with Hecataeus. For this change in the form of the name probably did not take place until several centuries after Hecataeus wrote. The interpolator states the fact as evident in his own time.

[5] Ed. Desjardins. Seg. IX.

[6] Josephus usually; Eusebius, *O.S.* (2) 280:40, 283:3; the list of bishops in Lequien.

[7] Jos., *Ant.* XIII, 7:2 in several MSS.; *Clem. Recog.* IV:1.

[8] See Claudius Iolaus in *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος.

[9] Possibly to distinguish the proper name Dor, as "*the* walled city" (see p. 19) from other cities to which the term "dor" (= walled town) might be applied. There was besides in the later Aramaic a tendency to use the determinative ending freely.

[10] S.v. Δῶρος.

the use by Pausanius of the ethnic Δωριεῖς, the plural of Δωριεύς, as though built on a form Δώριον. On coins of Dor[1] the forms ΔΩΡΙΤΩΝ and ΔΩΡΕΙΤΩΝ are found, corresponding to the forms Δωριτης and Δωρειτης. Thus we have witnesses for two forms of the ethnic, viz.: Δωρίτης (or Δωρείτης)[2] and Δωριεύς; of these the former is the better attested.

The variation in the middle consonant in the Hebrew name Dor finds its parallel in the case of En-dor. For in 1 Sam. 28:7 En-dor is written עֵין דּוֹר; but in Ps. 83:11 the form עֵין דֹּאר appears[3]. In the name of the town Hammath-dor of Josh. 21:32 we have the form דאר. The transliteration of all these names in the Greek Old Testament throws no light upon the question as to what was originally the middle consonant[4]. Nor does the single occurrence of the name in Egyptian documents furnish any information in this regard[5]. But the use of the form דאר in the Eshmunazar inscription and of Du-'-ru (or Du-'u-ru) in the Assyrian inscriptions[6] indicates that 'Aleph was originally the middle consonant. דֹּאר is doubtless, therefore, the older writing of the name. Both forms are, however, correct. In the Hebrew language 'Aleph in many cases early lost its consonantal value. The Biblical writers were therefore at liberty to write either דֹּאר or דּוֹר.

What does the word Dor mean? Greek writers regarded the Palestinian coast cities as Greek settlements; this is indicated by the legends they give of the founding of these towns[7]. Oftentimes basing their statements on mere chance resemblances in names, they represent Greek gods or heroes as founders and thus surround

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[1] Hill, pp. LXXV, 113–118. The form ΔΩΡΙΡΙΤΩΝ on one coin is due to dittography.

[2] Δωρείτης is the same as Δωρίτης, either ει or ι having been used formerly to represent the sound ī.

[3] Another slight modification in the writing occurs in the עֵין דֹּר of Josh. 17:11. The town Endor, however, probably does not belong here. See below, pp. 51 f.

[4] The Peshitto version writes the name ܕܘܪ. This may represent either of the Hebrew forms.

[5] Prof. W. Max Müller informs me that the Egyptian form D-ïra (better Da-ïra) of the Papyrus Golenischeff does not show the 'Aleph. In this form, furthermore, the vowels are worthless.

[6] See pp. 39 f.

[7] *Steph. Byz., passim*; Schür., *G.J.V.*, 2:55, 56.

the cities with the nimbus of ancient Greek origin. The name Dor is accounted for by this word-play method. Claudius Iolaus[1] declares: *καί τινες ἱστοροῦσι Δῶρον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκιστὴν αὐτῆς γεγονέναι.* Evidently this is mere legend, invented to explain the name, and has no basis beyond verbal similarity[2].

The Hebrew דּוֹר means ordinarily "period", "generation"[3]. In the verse Isaiah 38:12, however, it is translated "dwelling", or "habitation"[4]. In Ps. 84:11 the corresponding verb דּוּר signifies "to dwell". The Hebrew noun is evidently related to that other Hebrew noun דּוּר, "circle" or "ball". The Hebrew nouns and verb are doubtless connected with the Arabic verb دَارَ, to "move in a circle", "go about", "surround". From this root is derived the Arabic noun دَارٌ "house", "group of buildings around a court", related to دَوْرٌ "circle", "circuit".

The Assyrian sign for Du-ru is borrowed from the Sumerian, where it is given the value BAD[5]. Du-ru signifies "wall" or "fence", and then "rampart" or a "place or fortress surrounded with a rampart"[6]. It is a common and early Babylonian place name[7]. Apparently the name Du-ru is related to the Hebrew דּוּר and דּוֹר and to the Arabic دَارَ, دَارٌ and دَوْرٌ[8]. In all these forms there is the idea of something round, a circle, hence in the case of the nouns, a court, or a surrounding wall, a fortress or place surrounded by a wall[9]. A common Semitic root דּוּר with the idea of

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[1] *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος; Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* VI, 363.

[2] So Schür., *loc. cit.*; Guér., *Sam.* 2:310.

[3] Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Heb. Lex.*, s.v.

[4] *Ibid.*; Marti on the passage.

[5] Strassmeier, *Assyr. und Akkad. Wörter of Cun. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. II, no. 2107; Ungnad in *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, vol. VI, Heft 3, pp. 27, 28; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*.

[6] Muss-Arnolt, *Dict. of Assyr. Lang.*; Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*; *C.O.T.* on Dan. 3:1; *ibid.* II, 224; Clay, *Amurru*, p. 130.

[7] *C.O.T.* on Dan. 3:1; Marti on Dan. 3:1.

[8] In the Aramaic of the Talmud, etc., we have the form דּוּרָא (ܕܘܪܐ, ܕܘܪܐ), from דּוּר, "to dwell" with the meaning "village" or "town". This word likewise has the idea of something round (Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*) and goes back to the same root as these other forms.

[9] From the idea of a surrounding wall comes the meaning "court" and then "dwelling", as in the Hebrew.

"moving in a circle," "surrounding," etc., is doubtless the basis of the Hebrew, Arabic and Babylonian forms. The name Dor undoubtedly antedates the Hebrew occupation of Palestine[1]. The same element 'dor' occurs also in the town names "Endor" and "Hammoth-Dor"[2]. Evidently the name Dor in Palestine is the same word as the Babylonian Du-ru, and like it signifies eventually "a place or fortress surrounded by a wall or rampart"[3].

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[1] It was not until a late period that the Hebrews secured possession of Dor (Josh. 17: 11, 12). They certainly did not give the name to the city.

[2] At the present time (see *S. W. P. Mem.* II, 294) there is a small village Dūrah about ten miles due east from Bethel, i. e., northeast from Jerusalem. Probably this name ought to be added to the list of Palestinian names containing the element 'dor'.

[3] Prof. Fritz Hommel (*Grundriss*, pp. 27 f.) propounds the ingenious but far-fetched theory that the name Dor is derived from the name Teucri; these were, he holds, among the sea-peoples who invaded Palestine c. 1300 B. C. But it is only by doing violence to the laws of etymology that he can obtain even the most insecure foothold for his hypothesis. The mere statement of the equation he must make is enough to rule out his theory from the realm of probabilities. This is the equation: Dor = Do'or = Dokor = Ṭakkar = Zaḳḳalū = Teucri. A far cry from Dor to Teucri! Hitzig (*Philistäer*, pp. 135 ff.; cf. Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* s.v. Dor) compares Dor with Endor lying on the same parallel, and propounds the theory that the names are Indogermanic and given by the Philistine settlers. Dor then would mean "pass", "entrance", "door". Endor would be "the other" Dor. The two would resemble the front and rear doors of a house. This theory is too refined and lacks support. The town doubtless had the name Dor long before the Philistine invasion. Hitzig's derivation of Dor from the Sanskrit dvār is improbable.

THE NAME NAPHATH DOR.

The Old Testament seems to distinguish between Dor and Naphath (or Naphoth) Dor. Whereas in Judg. 1:27 and in 1 Chron. 7:29 the simpler form "Dor" alone is used, the other passages employ the compound name. Thus, in Josh. 11:2 the name is given as נָפוֹת דּוֹר, and in 1 Kings 4:11 as נָפַת דֹּאר. In Josh. 12:23 the reference is to דּוֹר לְנָפַת דּוֹר; here the two names are clearly distinct the one from the other. In the obscure phrase, שְׁלִשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת, of Josh. 17:11 (end) it is probable that הַנָּפֶת (the form of the word is corrupt) has reference to the preceding דֹּאר[1].

The most likely explanation of the meaning of the word נפת is the one which connects it with the old Semitic root נוף, "to be high". Thus in Arabic the verb is used for that which is "long and high" (ناف ينوف اذا طال وارتفع), and we find Yanūf (also written Yanūfā, Tanūf, etc.) as the ancient proper name of a mountainous region in North Arabia; see Yāqūt s.v. Similarly the fourth stem participle, مُنِيف, signifies "high", "lofty", and is used especially of buildings or mountains, also as the proper name of a mountainous district, a lofty fortress, and the like. The word for the overtopping hump of a camel, فَوْف, comes from this root; as does also the form فَيْف, "surplus", used in the sense of "over and above". Cp. also نِيافة, "His Eminence", used as the title of cardinals[2].

In the Hebrew[3] the original meaning, "be high", seems to have been retained in the יְפֵה נוֹף, "beautiful in elevation", of Psalm 48:3[4]. Parallel with this meaning, however, and almost entirely supplanting it, arose the use of the verb, principally in the Hiphil, to mean "move to and fro", "brandish". Doubtless this signification of the root arose from the fact that the brandished object,

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[1] See the discussion of the passage on pp. 45 ff.

[2] Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 738.

[3] B.D.B., *Heb. Lex.*, I, II נוף.

[4] So Engl. Rev. Version, Briggs, Baethgen, Duhm (who connects it with καλλικολώνη = Fair-hill). Wellhausen, however, characterizes the word as "suspicious", having "no appropriate meaning which can be established".

whether spear or offering, was held *on high* in the act of brandishing or waving it. Related to the sense of the verb is the meaning of the noun נָפָה, "sieve", which is a "brandishing instrument", being held high and waved to and fro. Thus in the Hebrew two distinct meanings of the root נוף developed together, one containing the idea of height, the other that of brandishing.

In the Aramaic[1] the verb comes to mean "wave, blow, fan", corresponding to the "brandish" of the Hebrew. The Aramaic noun נוֹף denotes "tree-top" "bough". There is here an evident fusion of the two meanings of the Hebrew, for the ideas of height and moving to and fro are both applicable to the top branches of a tree. But of the noun נוֹף in the direct sense of "height" we find no trace in the Aramaic language.

The Syriac ܢܦܐ has in like manner partially obscured the direct sense of "height," though it has retained suggestions of the idea. Thus in the Syriac of Ex. 20:25; Deut. 23:26, etc., the Afel of the verb signifies "lift up". The Ethpeel is used in the sense "to be brandished". The Ettafal form is evidently to be interpreted with the idea of elevation in the passage[2]: "The hammers of the Evil One, which were lifted up (ܐܬܬܢܦܝ) against them, did not shatter them". Brockelmann also cites P. Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca* 2:146, 24 for the use of the Ettafal to mean "surrexit" (rose)[3]. The noun ܢܦܐ has among other meanings that of "nutus manus". This beckoning with the hand is a motion evidently connected with the verb idea "to brandish". All this evidence shows that the Syriac has partially retained the idea of "height" originally contained in the word.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the primitive sense of the root נוף contained in the Arabic, viz., "be high", has been partially retained in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac. In the North Semitic dialect used at Dor, however, this original significance of the root seems to have been preserved, at least so far as the name of the heights inland from the coast city is concerned. A feminine nominal form נָפָה[4] from the middle weak root נוף

[1] Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch.*

[2] *Ephraemi Syri* (Overbeck), 115, 19 f.

[3] I have not the volume at hand to verify this reference. Payne Smith has failed to mention this passage.

[4] B.D.B., *Heb. Lex.*, p. 632.

would seem to be the basis for the construct singular form נָפַת and for the construct plural נְפוֹת[1]. The reference in the passages cited would then be to the "height" or "heights" of Dor[2], probably in the hilly and rolling country east of the town proper[3]. The presence of guard houses cut in the sides of the passage through the ridge near Dreihemeh[4] would indicate that a garrison was kept there. Without doubt the strategic heights behind the city were also fortified; in connection with this outpost of the harbor town a settlement would naturally grow up[5]. To this settlement on the heights, and to the district in which it lay, the name נָפַת דּאר seems to have been given. The use of the name in the Old Testament, and the occurrence of the plural נְפוֹת, suggest that a considerable territory was included in the term. In the שׁמם רמים (="High Heavens") district of Sidon, referred to on the stones of the temple of Ešmūn excavated near that city, there seems to be a sort of parallel to the term נפת דאר. This "High Heavens" of the Sidonian inscription seems to be the designation of a district or suburb of the city located, like Naphath Dor, in the hilly region to the East[6]. The existence of a town on the mainland at Tyre, called Παλαίτυρος[7], and the presence of similar off-shoots from the city proper in the case of many of the coast towns, add strong confirmation to our explanation of the origin of the name Naphath Dor.

Opposed to this interpretation of the name is Symmachus'[8] rendering of נפת as ἡ παραλία. In Joshua 11:2 he renders וּבִנְפוֹת דּוֹר

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[1] The long vowel ֵ in the first syllable of the construct indicates that the root of the noun is middle weak; cf. רֵ(א)מַת in B.D.B., p. 928. For נָפַת see below.

[2] A.R.V., "height"; A.V., "region, coast, border, country". G.A.S. (*Hist. Geog.*, p. 654) defines the word as "elevation, raised land".

[3] Ges., *Thes.*, 331 says: "Excelsum fortasse promontorium". "Promontorium" is improbable, especially in view of the כָּל־נָפַת of 1 Kings 4:11, which implies a larger area than the slight promontory at Dor. The Carmel promontory would scarcely be referred to in that passage.

[4] See page 14.

[5] The ruins of Dreihemeh itself prove that such suburbs of Dor actually existed.

[6] C. C. Torrey in *Jour. Am. Orient. Soc.* XXIII, pp. 164 ff.; Cp. XXIV, p. 215; XXIX, pp. 192 f.; Eiselen, *Sidon*, pp. 144 f.

[7] Hast., *D.B.*, s.v. Tyre; *Enc. Bib.* s.v.

[8] F. Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, in locis.

מָיִם as καὶ εἰς τὴν παραλίαν Δὼρ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν. Similarly he translates דּוֹר לְנַפַת דּוֹר of Josh. 12:23, (Δωρ) τῆς παραλίας; and שְׁלִשַׁת הַנָּפֶת of Josh. 17:11 is interpreted, καὶ αἱ τρεῖς παραλίαι. Where did Symmachus get his ἡ παραλία? In a comparison of the Hebrew and old Greek texts of Josh. 11:2, 3 a possible answer is to be found[1]. The מָיִם ("on the West") of these verses is inexactly rendered in the Greek both times as εἰς τοὺς παραλίους. This phrase in verse 2 immediately follows Ναφεθδωρ (B, φεναεδδώρ). It may be that Symmachus' εἰς τὴν παραλίαν immediately preceding Dor was suggested to him by the almost equivalent εἰς τοὺς παραλίους immediately following Dor in the old Greek. That he may have been influenced by the Greek in this manner is shown to be quite possible by his procedure in verse 3. Here he follows the example of the Greek in disregarding the וְ of the וְהָאֱמֹרִי and reads: καὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τὸν Ἀμορραῖον. It seems quite possible, therefore, that we owe Symmachus' mistranslation of נפת as ἡ παραλία to the inaccurate rendering of מָיִם by the Greek. It is also possible that Symmachus was influenced in his rendering by the fact that the Dor known in his day was actually situated ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ. In any case he is apparently the first to propound the theory that the name means παραλία, and stands almost alone in his interpretation. The probability remains that the name נפת does not refer to the coast town, but to the strategically far more important heights above the town. With this hypothesis the form of the name agrees.

In all the versions and translations the name נפת seems to have proved a stumbling-block. The Vulgate, with a different rendering each time the name occurs, is completely at a loss. In Josh. 11:2 it reads "in *regionibus* Dor iuxta mare"[2]; in Josh. 12:23, "et *provinciae* Dor"; in Josh. 17:11, "et tertia pars *urbis Napheth*"; and in 1 Kings 4:11, "omnis *Nephat Dor*". The Targum[3] evidently comes from the same source as Jerome's Vulgate renderings "regionibus" and "provinciae", for it represents נפת in Josh. 11:2; 12:23 and 1 Kings 4:11 by the construct plural פְּלַכֵי

[1] For the Hebrew and Greek texts see the discussion of the passage on pp. 41 ff.

[2] Like the Greek the Latin here fails to understand the phrase מָיִם.

[3] Walton's *Polyglot*.

(= Bezirk, Kreis[1]); in Josh. 17:11 the absolute תְּלָתָא פִּלְכִין occurs. This native Jewish tradition cannot be relied upon in its interpretation of the meaning of the word Naphath; it is valuable, however, in that it indicates that נפת must signify a district ("Bezirk, Kreis") adjoining Dor.

In the Peshitto of Joshua 11:2; 12:23; 1 Kings 4:11 the name is reproduced with no attempt at interpretation as ܢܦܬ ܕܘܪ. The form ܢܦܬ represents a Hebrew segholate noun. But from a middle weak root נוף no such segholate form is permissible. The penultimate vowel of נָפָה, construct נָפַת, must of necessity be long and its omission in the Syriac is therefore incorrect. It is quite probable that the Septuagint renderings Ναφεθδωρ, Ναφεδδωρ, Ναφεδωρ, Ναφεθα, Φεννεδδωρ, etc. (with ε in the second syllable)[2] with good reason suggested to the Syriac punctuator[3] that the form was a Hebrew segholate noun of the *qatl* type. Hence he used the equivalent Syriac form *q*ᵉ*tel*[4].

In its ܬܠܬ ܐܘܝܢ in Joshua 17:11, the Peshitto departs from precedent in regard to the word Naphath, in that an attempt is made to translate the troublesome שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת of that verse. The numeral "three" before הַנּפת must have seemed to demand a rendering of the noun. This ܐܘܝܢ is the plural of ܐܘܝܬܐ which is defined[5] as meaning primarily "angulus"; metaphorically it may

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[1] Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Dalman, *Aram. u. Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*.

[2] It appears that the ε in the second syllable was the vowel used by the Greek translator to indicate the short construct vowel = of נָפַת. Compare the rendering Ραμεθ (L) for רָמַת of Josh. 13:26—see also Josh. 19:8.—Only in Νεφαδδωρ of I Kings 4:11 (A) do we find *a* in the second syllable.

[3] It is quite certain that the Syriac translator or translators also used the Greek for comparison. Inasmuch as the Hebrew text was unpointed, it was quite natural for the punctuator to adopt in case of doubt the vowels supplied by the Greek.

[4] In Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* ܢܦܬܕܘܪ is not given at all. This omission should be supplied, and the word listed under both ܢܦܬ and ܢܘܦ, with the observation that the Syriac punctuation is due to a mistake.—Another evident oversight in Payne Smith is the omission of any reference to the town name ܕܘܪ.

[5] Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* I, Col. 1093, under root ܐܘܐ.

signify "plagae caeli", and is used "de 7 terrae zonis sive climatibus"; the word is also employed in the sense of "principes". Quite a difference in meaning between נפת, "height" and ܙܘܝܢ, "anguli"! The probable explanation of ܙܘܝܢ is the following: In the Hebrew the word for "corner" is פִּנָּה; the plural is פִּנֹּת. The שְׁלֹשֶׁת preceding הַנֹּפֶת would seem to the translator to indicate that the latter was plural[1]. Evidently the Syriac translator interpreted the singular נפת in the unpointed Hebrew text as the plural פנת, by the easy transposition of נ and פ. This פִּנֹּת would then in the Syriac be translated ܙܘܝܢ, "angles" or "corners". In the Φεννεδδωρ of Josh. 11:2; 12:23 (B text) the translator may have found warrant for transposing the first two consonants. Moreover, the five towns he mentions in this verse (i. e. Bethshean, Jibleam, En-dor, Taanach and Megiddo—Dor is omitted in the Syriac), might easily have seemed to him, with his probably rather hazy idea of the relative positions of the places, to form a rough triangle, a "three corners" (ܙܘܝܢ)[2]. This supposedly triangular shape of the district might have confirmed his faith in the correctness of his rendering. But when Dor is substituted, as it should be, for Endor[3], this argument from the shape of the district would be weakened. The interpretation of Naphath as "height", we must conclude, best fits the facts and the verses in which the name occurs.

The peculiar and probably impossible form הַנָּפֶת in שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת (in the Hebrew of Joshua 17:11) requires some explanation. Evidently נפת is in the construct state in the other instances where it is used (viz. in Joshua 11:2; 12:23; 1 Kings 4:11), and is therefore to be translated "height of" or "heights of" Dor. As will be shown in the discussion of the verse, נפת in Josh. 17:11 was likewise *originally* a construct form. It seems probable, that is, that we have to do with a marginal gloss, שְׁלֹשְׁתָהּ נָפַת, whose purpose it was to record a variant and superior reading of the name of the *third* city in the enumeration: נפת דאר instead of

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[1] See the discussion of Joshua 17:11 on pp. 45 ff.

[2] Cp. Trinacria.

[3] See the discussion of Joshua 17:11.

simply דאר. When the gloss strayed into the text, the ה became of necessity the article, and was attached to the following word, while נפת was pointed as a segholate noun (נֶפֶת, with the first vowel becoming ֲ in the pause). But no such form would be possible from the root נוף, nor does there seem to be any way of accounting for the form, other than the one just suggested. The proposal to pronounce the name as plural, הַנָּפֹת[1], is quite fruitless. The supposed segholate noun נֶפֶת should be omitted from our Hebrew lexicons.

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[1] Budde, Holzinger, Kittel, et al.

THE NAME ṬANṬŪRA.

The name of the modern town is given by travelers under the three forms: Ṭanṭūra[1], Arabic ة طنطور[2], Ṭarṭūra[3], Arabic ة طرطور, and Ṭorṭūra[4], Arabic, ة طرطور. In reality these are variant forms of the same name[5]; the letters r and n belong to the same organ and are therefore, especially in borrowed words, easily interchanged. The words ṭanṭūr, ṭarṭūr and ṭorṭūr (also ṭonṭūr) all denote a pointed or peaked cap, formerly worn by the Bedouin of Egypt, and still in use among the dervishes of Egypt and Syria. They also signify the horn of bone or metal used as part of the head-dress by Maronite and Druse women in Syria[6].

Dozy derives the word from the verb طرطر, "gloriatus fuit" or "in altum sustulit, elevavit." But طرطر does not seem to be a native Arabic verb at all, and Fraenkel[7] rightly rejects this derivation. It is, on the contrary, extremely probable that طرطر is a denominative verb from the noun طرطور. In the Arabic language, therefore, no derivation can be discovered for the nominal form. In all probability the word is quite foreign to the language and has

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[1] Van de Velde, *Narrat.* I:333 (1854); Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II:249; Wilson, *Picturesque Pal.*, pp. 114 ff.; Guérin, *Sam.* 2:305 f.; *S.W.P. Mem.* II, p. 3; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 128; Baedeker (4), pp. 231 f.

[2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 181, no. 38. Guérin writes ة ذنطور.

[3] Chevalier d'Arvieux (c. 1700) in Labat, *Merkwürdige Nachrichten*, part II, pp. 11-13; Buckingham, *Trav. in Pal.*, p. 123 (1821).

[4] Pococke, *Description of the East*, II, p. 57 (1745); Irby and Mangles, *Travels in Egypt*, etc., p. 59 (1844); Munk, *Palestine*, p. 59 (1845)—this writer says the town is called by the Arabs Ras-el-hedjl (i. e. "head of the plain"). —Instead of the feminine ending ة, the three names are sometimes given with the masc. ر.

[5] Dozy, *Vêtements*, pp. 262 ff., Suppl. II:36; Fraenkel, *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, p. 53; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1896, p. 171; *S.W.P.*, *Name Lists*, pp. 141, 117; Arabic Dictionaries.

[6] Dozy, *loc. cit.*

[7] *Loc. cit.*

been borrowed from without. This fact doubtless accounts for the variations we find in the writing, both in its use as a common noun and as a designation of ancient Dor.

Fleischer[1], followed by Fraenkel[2] and Jastrow[3], suggests that the Aramaic טַרְטִין[4], a plural noun meaning "Kopfbedeckungen, Mützen", is connected with the Arabic طُرْطُور (and its variants) of Dozy[5]. He finds no Aramaic origin for טַרְטִין. Fraenkel raises the question whether it be a genuine Aramaic word at all. Levy[6] suggests "teretes"[7], Jastrow "turritum" (capitis ornamentum), as the Latin original of the Aramaic word.

Thus the Arabic طُرْطُور and the Aramaic טַרְטִין, both signifying head-covering or cap, stand isolated in their respective languages and yet in apparent connexion one with the other. Both seem to be borrowed, and the original must be sought in some language with which the people of Syria and Arabia came into contact. The conquest of these lands by Alexander opened the way for Greek influence upon the native languages, and the Roman settlers after Pompey brought in many Latin words; in either the Greek or the Latin, then, the original word is probably to be sought.

The Latin "tentorium" (English "tent"—in Middle Latin it is also used to signify an "umbrella"[8]) seems to be the most probable original of both (ה)טַנְטוּר and טַרְטִין. In borrowed words the tendency is to conform at first rather closely to the original form; later the word is changed to accommodate it more nearly to the language into which it is taken. The Aramaic form as borrowed from the Latin "tentorium" was probably טַנְטוּר, the "ium" as usual dropping off. Metathesis in borrowed words is very common and fol-

[1] In his supplementary notes in J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. II, p. 210 (1879).

[2] *Die Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, p. 53 (1886).

[3] *Dict. of the Targumim*, etc., p. 552b (1903).

[4] Jastrow vocalizes טַרְטִין.

[5] S. Krauss (*Griech. u. Latein. Lehnwörter im Talmud*, etc., II, pp. 271 ff.) questions, but without sufficient reason, this definition of טַרְטִין.

[6] *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v.

[7] Plural of adj. teres, "rounded off"; fig. "smooth".

[8] Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s.v.

lows no fixed laws[1]. Consequently the transposition of נ and ר in this word resulting in the form טַרְטִין is not an unusual phenomenon. The ending *īn* was later regarded as plural.

In the Arabic a somewhat similar process took place. The oldest form of the noun is very likely طَنْطُورٌ, practically a transliteration of tentor(ium). Next the n assimilated to the r of the last syllable and the form طَرْطُورٌ came into being. Last of all the vowel of the penultimate syllable was assimilated to the ' of the ultima, and the form طُرْطُورٌ was the result. This last is the most typically Arabic form of the three[2]. This explanation of the probable history of the word is confirmed by the fact that at the time Dozy wrote (in 1845) the word was in different stages of its development in various countries[3]. In Syria the form ṭanṭoura was used; in Egypt, ṭarṭour; and in Algiers, ṭorṭora. This illustrates also the fact that in Syria each of these forms was used at one time or another, and probably more than one form was in accepted use at the same time. It explains, too, the persistence or recurrence of the older form Ṭanṭūra in the name of the modern town, although Ṭorṭūra is apparently the more recent version of the name. These various forms of the word seem to be used interchangeably, now one, now another, being in current use.

The derivation from the Latin "tentorium" thus takes into account the various changing forms ṭanṭūr, ṭarṭūr and ṭorṭūr. Levy's suggestion[4] that טַרְטִין is derived from the rather far-fetched "teretes", as well as Jastrow's[5] proposal of "turritum" must be rejected. The derivation from "tentorium" has also this superiority to the other suggestions—we can see that the name

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[1] E. g. σκύφος becomes in the Talmud סופקא (S. Krauss, *Griech. u. Lat.*, *etc.*, I, pp. 113 ff.). Cp. also Syr. קַרְדָּלָא from καλδάριον, Arab. صيف from צָנִיף, دِمَقْس from مِدَقْس (μέταξα), زَرْنِيق from ἀρσένικον, and many others.

[2] The form ṭonṭura also cited by Dozy (*loc. cit.*) is simply a variant form in which the assimilation of the vowel ' preceded that of the consonant ر.

[3] Dozy, *Vêtements*, pp. 262 ff.

[4] Page 29.

[5] *Ibid.*

might quite easily be applied to a head-covering. The peaked cap known under the name of ṭanṭūr bears some resemblance to a tent both in shape and in the open space within; like a tent it is a covering. The Middle Latin use of the word "tentorium" to denote "umbrella" is a suggestive parallel.

Through what channels did this word make its way into the Aramaic and the Arabic respectively? The Aramaic-speaking peoples came into immediate contact with the Roman legions and colonists. In all probability they took over their טַנְטוּר directly from the Romans, later changing the form to טַרְטִין. The Arabs, however, did not usually come into such direct relations with the Greek and Roman settlers; it is a fact that most of their Greek and Roman loan-words seem to have come by way of the Aramaic. It is furthermore most improbable that the same word should have been borrowed independently both by the Aramaic and the Arabic. The most probable explanation is, therefore, that the Arabs took over the word from the Aramaic-speaking peoples of Syria; these in their turn had borrowed it from the Romans.

The question of how this name came to be applied to the modern village, successor to ancient Dor, must be considered. Two other instances of the use of ṭanṭūr as a proper name suggest a possible answer. Ṭanṭūr Fer'on is the name given by natives to a tomb just outside Jerusalem which is distinguished by a pointed peak[1]. A natural mound outside Acre, said to have been used as a redoubt in a siege of that city, bears the designation "Tell el-Ṭanṭūr" ("Mound of the Peak")[2]. There was probably here at one time some sort of a peaked or pointed structure from which this name was derived. Is it not probable that in both these cases the name Ṭanṭūr was applied because of a real or fancied resemblance to the peaked cap or horn (ṭanṭūr)?

The application of the name Ṭanṭūra either to the ruins or to the town[3] was made in a similar way. Until January 15th, 1895 (when

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[1] This tomb is otherwise known as "Absalom's Pillar"; (Fleischer *zu Seetzen's Reisen* IV, 256; *S.W.P., Name Lists*, p. 319).

[2] *S.W.P., Name Lists*, pp. 117, 141.

[3] It is quite possible that the ruins were called Ṭanṭūra before the town received that name, perhaps even before the modern town came into being. The name does not seem to go back very far.

it collapsed)[1], the most striking feature in the neighborhood of Ṭanṭūra was a high tower, partly in ruins, situated on a rocky promontory north of the present town. This was clearly visible at every point from Carmel to Caesarea[2]. The tower was called el-Burj or Khirbet Ṭanṭūra, and in shape resembled somewhat the peaked cap or horn (ṭanṭūr). Doubtless this, the most characteristic and dominating feature of the vicinity, gave to the place its name, Ṭanṭūra. With the changes in the name of the peaked cap itself to ṭarṭūr and ṭorṭūr[3], the name of the ruins and town changed accordingly.

The ancient name of the town may have played a part in fixing the modern name Ṭanṭūra[4]. There is a marked resemblance in sound between Ṭanṭūra (or Ṭarṭūra or Ṭorṭūra) and Dora, the usual Greek form of the ancient name. In the Semitic languages the dentals d and ṭ sometimes pass over into one another[5], so that Dora might become Ṭora[6]. In fact the Tabula Peutingeriana[7] actually gives the name as Thora, which is equivalent to Ṭora. This would indicate that at a very early period (4th Cent. A. D.?) the name was sometimes pronounced with emphatic ṭ. That the distinction between د and ط is not always strictly observed in this very town is proved by the fact that Dr. Barth plainly heard the natives pronounce the name of the town as Dandora[8]. It appears quite prob-

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[1] Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1895, p. 113. A. W. Cook, *Palestine*, 2:172 (1901) refers to the tower as though it were still standing. Baed. (4) (1906), pp. 231 f. makes the same error.

[2] Murray, *Handbook* (1875), p. 358; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1873, pp. 99 f.; Baed. (4) (1906), p. 231.

[3] See p. 30.

[4] The theory of Gesenius (*Thes.* 231) that Ṭarṭūra or Ṭorṭūra is to be interpreted طور دورا, "mons Dorae", is not at all probable. So Riehm. *Handwörterbuch* I, 285.

[5] Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 53; Gesenius-Buhl, under ד, ט, ת; Lane 1819. In Turkish both د and ط can be pronounced either as d or t (Zenker, *Türk.-Arab.-Pers. Handwörterbuch*, pp. 418, 588.

[6] Cf. دريباق = (τα) Θηριακά (Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, p. 240). See also Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch* (1870), § 47 C.

[7] Ed. Desjardins, Seg. IX. The Tabula Peut. is probably of the 4th Cent. A. D.

[8] Ritter, *Erdkunde* XVI, 607-612; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch* I, 285. In Germany the Saxons in like manner often substitute d for t.

able, therefore, that the initial consonant of Dora was, occasionally at least, changed to emphatic ṭ, giving the form Ṭora. When later the ṭanṭūr-shaped ruined tower became the dominant feature of the landscape, the chance resemblance between the words Ṭora and ṭanṭūr may have suggested to some native punster the appropriateness of applying the name Ṭanṭūra to the ruins of Ṭora. Subsequently the inhabitants of the native town adopted the new name[1]—The feminine ending of طنطورة is doubtless derived from the Aramaic determinative ending ת[2].

[1] Compare the adoption of the reproachful term "Christians" by the early church.

[2] Supra, p. 17.

THE GOLENISCHEFF PAPYRUS.

In that important and interesting document, named after its purchaser and first publisher the Golenischeff Papyrus[1], discovered in 1891 at Khibeh in upper Egypt, mention is made of the town of Dor. Hrihor, the High Priest of Amon, although not called King, seems to be in control at Thebes at the time (c. 1100 B. C.)[2] the events narrated in this document occurred; while Nesubenebded (Smendes), afterward the first king of the 21st dynasty, rules the Delta from his seat at Tanis. In response to an oracle, Hrihor despatches an official named Wenamon to Byblos to procure cedar from Lebanon for the construction of a new sacred barge for Amon. In addition to a meager supply of money and presents the messenger is given an image of the God, called "Amon-of-the-Way", which is to serve as a passport with the kings on his journey. Having encountered extraordinary difficulties in the fulfillment of his task, Wenamon upon his return makes out a long report of the mishaps that had interfered with the success of his mission. The Golenischeff Papyrus contains Wenamon's authentic report.

As first issued by Golenischeff the Papyrus seemed to indicate that the greater part of Wenamon's transactions, including the purchase of timber, took place at Dor[3]. According to the improved arrangement of the Papyrus fragments by Erman[4], however, the major part of this story has Byblos as its scene of action.

On the 16th day of the 11th month, in the 5th year (probably of Ramses XII) Wenamon left Thebes. At Tanis he was kindly

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[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. IV, pp. 274 ff.; *Hist. of Egypt*, pp. 513 ff.; W. M. Müller, *Asien. und Eur.*, pp. 388 f.; *Mit. Vorderasiat. Ges.* (1900), pp. 30 ff.; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 470 (note).

[2] Breasted gives the date as the "fifth year of the last of the Ramessids (= Ramses XII, 1118-1090 B. C.), when he is but the shadow of a king"; Müller dates Ḥri-ḥor "nicht später als 1050, wahrscheinlich etwas früher".

[3] On the basis of this incorrect arrangement Guthe in 1908 (*Palästina*, pp. 74 f.) argues that in Wenamon's time the neighborhood of Dor was thickly wooded. Inasmuch as Erman had rearranged the fragments of the Papyrus in 1900 Guthe need not have made this error.

[4] In *Zeit. für Ägypt. Sprache* (1900) no. 38, pp. 1 ff.: Breasted, Müller and other scholars follow Erman's improvement in the order of fragments.

received by the ruling Nesubenebded, and sent on his way in a ship under the command of a Syrian captain. To quote from Wenamon's own account[1]: "Nesubenebded and Tentamon sent me with the ship-captain, Mengebet, and I descended into the great Syrian (H̱'-rw) sea, in the fourth month of the third season, on the first day. I arrived at Dor a city of Thekel (T̲'-k'-r'), and Bedel (B'-dy-r')[2], its king, caused to be brought forth for me much bread, a jar of wine, and a joint of beef.

"Then a man of my ship fled, having stolen:

— (vessels) of gold (amounting to)	5 deben
4 vessels of silver, amounting to	20 deben
A sack of silver	11 deben
(Total of what) he (stole)	5 deben of gold
	31 deben of silver.

(About 1½ lbs. of gold and about 7¼ lbs. of silver—Breasted.)

"In the morning then I rose and went to the abode of the prince, and I said to him: 'I have been robbed in thy harbor. Since thou art the king of this land, thou art therefore its investigator, who should search for my money. For the money belongs to Amon-Re, King of Gods, the lord of the lands; it belongs to Nesubenebded, and it belongs to Hrihor, my lord, and the other magnates of Egypt; it belongs also to Weret (W'rty), and to Mekmel[3] (M-k'-m-rw), and to Zakar-Baal (T'-k'-rw-B-'-r')[4], the prince of Byblos[5]'."

"He said to me: 'To thy honor and thy excellence! but behold I know nothing of this complaint which thou hast lodged with me. If the thief belonged to my land, he who went on board (Lit., descended into) thy ship, that he might steal thy treasure, I would repay it to thee from my treasury, till they find thy thief by name; but the thief who robbed thee belongs to thy ship. Tarry a few days here with me and I will seek him'."

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[1] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, pp. 278–9; cp. Erman in *Zeit. für Ägypt. Sprache*, no. 38, pp. 6 ff.

[2] Müller (*As. und Eur.*, p. 388) transliterates the name Bi-d-ïra.

[3] There is here given first the Egyptians who sent the valuables, and then the Syrians to whom it was to be paid.

[4] =זכר-בעל.

[5] This indicates the locality where Wenamon expects to buy the timber.

"When I had spent nine days moored in his harbor, I went to him and said to him: 'Behold, thou hast not found my money (therefore let me depart) with the ship-captain and with those who go . . .'" (four lines are lost here and an uncertain amount more.)

(Some twenty-three additional lines are missing here) " . . . the sea. He said to me: 'Be silent . . .'" (three lines containing but a few broken words; among them a reference to searching for the thieves. The journey from Dor to Tyre is somewhere in these lacunae.)

On his way from Tyre to Byblos, Wenamon in some way meets some of the Thekel with a bag (?) of silver weighing 30 deben. He seized this as security for the 31 deben of silver he had lost. Four months and 12 days after his departure from Thebes, he arrives at Byblos. Having come in an ordinary merchant ship without rich gifts, Wenamon is ordered by Zakar-Baal to leave. But after 19 days one of the noble youths attendant upon Zakar-Baal falls into a prophetic ecstasy and demands that Wenamon be summoned and treated with honor. The king in conversation with Wenamon asserts his independence of Egypt and requires Wenamon to send to Egypt for part payment of the timber he wishes to secure. After the return of Wenamon's messenger with gold and silver and other valuables, the desired logs are delivered by the king. Upon promising to pay the balance Wenamon is permitted to embark. But to his despair he discovers eleven Thekel (Takkara) ships outside the harbor, waiting to arrest him, doubtless because of his seizure of silver from the Thekel he had met between Tyre and Byblos. Zakar-Baal on the following day calls the Thekel fleet to an interview, during which Wenamon embarks and escapes. Contrary winds, however, drive him to Cyprus (Alasa), where he barely escapes being killed by the populace. He manages to secure an audience with the Queen and is protected by her. The report here breaks off and we do not know how Wenamon finally managed to reach Egypt.

The Thekel (or Takkari), whom Wenamon finds settled at Dor, had begun entering Syria under Ramses III (1198–1167 B. C.) 80 years or more before. In his eighth year Ramses met and decisively routed in Syria by land and sea a number of maritime tribes who had made common cause with the invading Libyans.

According to the Medinet Habu inscriptions[1], these tribes consisted of the Peleset (Pw-r'-s'-t), the Thekel (T'-k-k'-r'), the Shekelesh (Š'-k-rw-š'), the Denyen (D'-y-n-yw) and the Weshesh (W'-š'-š'). Papyrus Harris[2] adds to this list the Sherden. These sea-peoples seem to have come from the coast and islands of Asia Minor[3]. Müller[4] rejects the etymological identification of the name Takkari with Teucri[5], on the ground that the double k makes this impossible. Maspero[6] and Breasted[7] are inclined to see in them the Siculi (or Sikeli).

Apparently these invading tribes received only a temporary setback in their defeat by Ramses III. In the reference in Wenamon's account to the presence of Takkari at Dor we have proof that within less than a hundred years Ramses' temporarily defeated opponents have firmly established themselves in Syria[8]. Their realm seems to have extended along the entire coast from Carmel to the Egyptian border. In the north were the Takkari; farther south were settled the Philistines and the remaining tribes[9]. Whether they came as a genuine "Völkerwanderung"[10], or simply as mercenaries and robbers[11] who afterward settled down to agricultural and commercial life, there is hardly sufficient evidence to decide.

Under the weak successors of Ramses III these tribes seem to have established their complete independence. It has been shown that the Egyptian messenger, Wenamon, is treated with scant cere-

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[1] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, IV, pp. 36 ff.: Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 359 ff.

[2] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, IV, § 403.

[3] Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 360 f.; ibid., *Mit. Vorderasiat. Ges.*, V (1900), p. 4; Hommel, *Grundriss*. pp. 27 f.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 197.

[4] *Mit. V. A. Ges.*, V (1900), p. 1.

[5] Hommel, *Grundriss*, pp. 27 f.

[6] *Struggle*, p. 464.

[7] *Anc. Rec.*, IV, p. 33.

[8] Maspero's theory (*Struggle*, p. 470) that Ramses III planted his captive Pulusati, etc., along this coast to safeguard the Egyptian frontier is improbable and lacks confirmation. More probably he was unable to keep them back.

[9] Paton, *Early Hist. of Pal. and Syria*, p. 148; W.M.M. in *Mit. V. A. Ges.* (1900), p. 1; Ed. Meyer, in *Enc. Bib.* III, 3735.

[10] So Breasted, IV, p. 33; Ed. Meyer, l. c.

[11] W.M.M., *As. u. Eur.*, p. 360.

mony both at Dor and at Byblos[1]. The king of Dor pays little attention to the complaint about the robbery, and later the Takkari fleet has no hesitation in pursuing Wenamon.

Dor seems to be at this period a town of some importance. A fleet is maintained and the king carries himself with apparent dignity and confidence. He seems to have very little fear before the accredited representative of Egypt. The tribal name of the inhabitants of Dor (i. e. Takkara) does not again appear either in the Old Testament or in other literature[2]. Probably they were absorbed into one stock with the more important and powerful Philistines[3].

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[1] We must, however, make due allowance for the probability that Wenamon's story is colored by his desire to justify his failure to fulfill his mission. By picturing the kings as unfriendly he would more easily excuse his failure.

[2] Unless "alu Zaḳ-ḳa-lu-ú" of 4R34, No. 2 refers to them. See below, pp. 39 f.

[3] Erman, *Zeit. für Ägypt. Sprache*, 38:1 ff.

DOR IN ASSYRIAN LITERATURE.

The town Dor is mentioned, together with other cities of Syria, in an Assyrian geographical list (2R53, No. 1, Rev.). Unfortunately this list is only a fragment and we are unable to determine its exact context. Probably it is the enumeration of conquests or tributary cities of some Assyrian ruler[1]. The transliteration of lines 35 to 41 follows[2]:

line 35	^{alu}Di-maš-ḳa	(Damascus)
	^{alu}Ḳar-ni-ni	(?)
	^{alu}Ḥa-ma-at-(ti)	(Hamath)
	^{alu}Ḥa-ta-rik-(ka)	(Hadrach)
	^{alu}Man-ṣu-a-te	(Mansuat)
line 40	^{alu}Du-'-ru	(Dōr)
	^{alu}Ṣu-bat, ^{alu}Ḥa-ma-a-tu	(Zōbā; Chamāth)

Dor is written:

Again in a similar fragmentary list of Syrian cities, whose exact purport is unknown, Dor occurs, this time between Damascus and Megiddo (2R53, No. 4)[3]:

line 55	^{alu}Sa-me-ri-na	(Samaria)
	^{alu}Di-maš-ḳa	(Damascus)
	^{alu}Du-'-ru	(Dōr)
	^{alu}Ma-gi-du-u	(Megiddo)
	^{alu}Man-ṣu-a-tu	(Mansuat)
line 60	^{alu}Ṣi-mir-ra	(Zemār)[4]

Here again Dor is written with medial ' (=).

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[1] G. Rawlinson (*Anc. Monarchies* II, p. 397 f.) evidently with this list and the one next to be discussed in mind, names Tiglath-Pileser III as the ruler in question; he adds that "Dor was even thought of sufficient consequence to receive an Assyrian governor". The information contained in the two references to the town does not furnish material on which to base either of his deductions.

[2] Following Schrader's transliteration in *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 122.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[4] The balance of the fragment (lines 61, 62) is broken off.

As in Josh. 12:23; 17:11; Judg. 1:27; 1 Chron. 7:29; Dor is mentioned in this latter list in close connection with Megiddo. It would seem that these cities were connected in a way that led naturally to their being mentioned together. The fact that Dor appears in the list with these other cities of northern Syria makes it practically certain that the city is the one we are discussing, and not some other of the numerous cities with that name. The writing with a medial breathing ' corresponds to the more correct דֹּאר. Apparently Dor is at the time of this inscription (sometime before 605 B. C.) a town of enough importance to be worth enumerating among the principal cities of the West. The town is not unknown in the land of Assyria.

Hommel[1] is inclined to identify the city Zaḳḳalū (Zaḳ-ḳa-lu-ú) of 4R34, No. 2 with Dor. This document is a letter written by a high Babylonian official to an Assyrian[2]. In it mention is twice (lines 41, 45) made of "^{al}Zaḳ-ḳa-lu-ú," where one of them had waited (in vain?) a whole day for the other. The identification of Dor with Zaḳ-ḳa-lu-ú is, however, very precarious. The name as we have it in Egyptian references[3] is written with simple k (כ) and not as here, with ḳ (ק). Furthermore, we have no evidence that Dor was ever called Zaḳḳara or the "Zaḳḳalite town." Hommel's contention[4] that the name Dor is derived from Takkar might, if true, indicate that Dor is the town referred to in this letter; but it has been shown that his derivation of the name lacks all semblance of probability. Until we find good evidence that Dor was also called Zaḳḳara or "the Zaḳḳalite town", we must omit 4R34, No. 2 from the list of references to Dor in Assyrian or Babylonian literature.

[1] *Geschichte*, pp. 432 f.: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, (1895) 17:203; *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, pp. 233 f.

[2] Tiele (*Bab-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 145), however, holds that the letter is from an Assyrian to a Babylonian prince.

[3] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, p. 278 (Ṯ-k-r), pp. 36 ff. (Ṯ-k-k-r); Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, p. 388; Hommel, *Grundriss*, pp. 27 ff.

[4] *Grundriss*, *l. c.*; see above p. 20.

DOR IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE APOCRYPHA.

JOSHUA 11:2.

The first Biblical reference[1] to Dor is in Joshua 11:2, in connection with the conquest of Canaan by Joshua. In chapter 10 the subjugation of the southern portion of the land has been described. Chapter 11 continues the story by narrating the events connected with Joshua's conquest of the kings in the northern half of Canaan. According to this account Jabin, King of Hazor[2], forms a coalition of these northern kings to oppose Joshua. He sends to Jobab, King of Madon, and to the Kings of Shimron and Achshaph (Josh. 11:1); he also sends (Josh. 11:2):

(2) וְאֶל־הַמְּלָכִים אֲשֶׁר מִצָּפוֹן בָּהָר וּבָעֲרָבָה נֶגֶב כִּנֲרוֹת וּבַשְּׁפֵלָה
וּבְנָפוֹת דּוֹר מִיָּם
(3a) הַכְּנַעֲנִי מִמִּזְרָח וּמִיָּם וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַחִתִּי וגו׳

"And to the kings who were on the north, in the hill-country, and in the Arabah over against[3] Chinneroth, and in the Shephelah and in the heights of Dor on the west, to the Canaanites on the east and on the west, and the Amorites, and the Hittites, etc." The Greek (B) reads: (2) *καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς κατὰ Σιδῶνα τὴν μεγάλην, εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥαβὰ ἀπέναντι Κενερώθ, καὶ εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ εἰς Φεναεδδώρ,* (3) *καὶ εἰς τοὺς παραλίους* [3]*Χαναναίους ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς παραλίους Ἀμορραίους καὶ Ἐναίους, κτλ.* Variant: For *Φεναεδδώρ*, A* gives *Ναφεδωρ*, A'F offer *Ναφεθδωρ*. The form *Φεναεδδώρ* has clearly arisen from the simple transposition of the syllables *να* and *φε* in *Ναφεθδώρ*. The second *ε* in *φεναεδδωρ* may represent a misreading of the uncial letter *θ* as *ε*; the doubling of the *δ* may be a correction from *φεννεδδώρ* of Josh. 12:23. Apparently this Greek form is based, not on נָפוֹת as in the text here, but on נָפַת as in the other passages[4].

For מִצָּפוֹן in the Hebrew of verse 2 we should probably read מִיצָּפוֹן, since there is no occasion for the use of the status con-

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[1] That is, first in order of book and chapter, not in order of composition.

[2] Cf. Judges 4:2, 17.

[3] See below for change to נֶגֶד.

[4] The large number of variants in the writing of this name illustrates how proper names change in transmission from one language to another.

structus here[1]. The reading of the Greek: κατὰ Σιδῶνα τὴν μεγάλην, is certainly to be rejected. Σιδῶνα arose from a misreading of מצפון as מיצדון. It would seem that the Greek translator read here מצדון רבה בהר instead of מצפון בהר[2]. Quite possibly he was influenced by צִידוֹן רַבָּה of verse 8. The Greek has ἀπέναντι for the hardly possible נֶגֶב and points, therefore, to נֶגֶד as the original reading[3]. מִים is read by the Greek with the following verse and mistranslated, καὶ εἰς τοὺς παραλίους, κτλ.; the Greek translates מִים of verse 3 in exactly the same way; whereas מִים should be rendered "on the West", or "westward"[4].

The reference in verse 2 is throughout to regions or districts. הַר refers to the mountainous territories in northern Samaria and Galilee[5]; by עֲרָבָה נֶגֶד כִּנֲרוֹת is probably meant the Jordan valley near the Sea of Galilee and perhaps also the plain to the west of the sea[6]; שְׁפֵלָה refers to the low hills between the Central Range and the coast plain[7]. In like manner the term נָפוֹת דּוֹר must signify the hilly district east of Dor including the ridge extending from Carmel to Caesarea[8].

Verse 2 seems to be a later insertion in the text, dating from the earlier part of the Persian Period[9]. So far as the event it purports to record is concerned, it has very little historical value. It does, however, reflect the conviction of a later supplementer that the region Naphath Dor was important in earlier times. Doubtless he based this conclusion upon the prominence of the district and of the city of Dor in his own time. Not even are names assigned to the shadowy kings of these vaguely defined districts. We can hardly

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[1] Bennett, *S.B.O.T.*; Holzinger, *K.H.A.T.*; Steuernagel.

[2] Margolis in *A.J.S.L.*, XXVIII (1911), p. 12.

[3] Steuernagel, et al.

[4] The translator's knowledge of Hebrew is perhaps defective (*A.J.S.L.*, XXVIII, p. 13).

[5] Steuernagel, Holzinger.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Not the coast plain itself (as in Steuernagel and Holzinger), G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, p. 203; S. R. Driver in Hast., *D.B.*, III, 894.

[8] See the discussion of the name Naphath Dor, pp. 21 ff.

[9] Bennett assigns it to D^2; Carpenter and Battersby to R^1, an expansion of vv. 1, 4–9 (J); Steuernagel to D^2; Holzinger to "JE^s? D? jünger?" Verse 1 is much older.

suppose, therefore, that the late writer of this verse had any distinct individuals in mind.

JOSHUA 12:22, 23.

The twelfth chapter of Joshua gives a list of the kings subdued by the Israelites in the course of their conquest of Canaan, verses 1–6 covering the East-Jordan region and verses 7–24 the rulers west of the Jordan. In the list of kings defeated by Joshua in the West-Jordan country appears the King of Dor. Josh. 12:22, 23 reads:

(22) מֶלֶךְ קֶדֶשׁ אֶחָד
מֶלֶךְ יָקְנְעָם לַכַּרְמֶל אֶחָד:
(23) מֶלֶךְ דּוֹר לְנָפַת דּוֹר אֶחָד
מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם לְגִלְגָּל אֶחָד

The King of Kedesh:	One.
The King of Jokneam, i. e., the Carmel district:	One.
The King of Dor, i. e., the Height of Dor:	One.
The King of the Nations, i. e., the District (= Galilee):	One[1].

The Greek (B) reads: (21, 22) *βασιλέα Κάδης, Βασιλέα Ζακάχ, Βασιλέα Μαρεδὼθ καὶ βασιλέα Ἰεκὼμ τοῦ Χερμέλ,* (23) *βασιλέα Ἐλδὼμ τοῦ Φεννεδδώρ, βασιλέα Γεεὶ τῆς Γαλειλαίας.*

Codex A is here, as usual, far superior to B. In verses 21, 22 both the order and name-forms of the Hebrew are much more faithfully and more correctly reproduced by A. It has Θαναχ, Μαγεδδων, Κεδες and Ιεκοναμ. In verse 23, A offers instead of Ἐλδωμ the form Αδδωρ. Evidently Αδ is the combination of the final vowel of *βασιλέα* with the initial consonant of Δωρ—a clear case of dittography. A also offers in this verse the superior reading, Ναφεδδωρ. In this form the δδ instead of θδ is probably to be accounted for by the fact that, in the cursive manuscripts, θ and δ are written so much alike that they are easily confused[2]. For Γεει, A reads Γωειμ, and for Γαλειλαίας it has Γελγεα (i. e. Γελγελ, Λ in an uncial manuscript

[1] See the discussion following, for departures from the usual rendering of this passage.

[2] Maunde Thompson, *Hdbk. of Gk. and Lat. Paleography*, Table opp. p. 148. There may also have been an unconscious assimilation in speech or writing of the θ to the δ.—For a fuller discussion of the word, see the chapter on Naphath Dor.

having been read A). In this last instance, Γαλειλαίας of B is doubtless to be preferred to the readings of A and the Hebrew. In agreement with the B-text the Hebrew here ought probably to be emended so as to read לַגָּלִיל[1]. It is probable that, as in כַּרְמֶל of verse 22, נָפַת דּוֹר of verse 23 and שָׁרוֹן in verse 18, a district is referred to. We know of no district called גִּלְגָּל; but the name גָּלִיל is applied to the region on the northern border of Israel's territory[2]. Doubtless this is the district here meant.

The reference in verse 23 above is to דּוֹר לְנָפַת דּוֹר. The preposition לְ of לְנָפַת is rendered by the American Revised Version (and usually) "in". The same interpretation of לְ is generally given in לְגִלְגָּל (verse 23) and לַכַּרְמֶל (verse 22)[3]. In all these cases, however, the preposition seems rather to be meant in the sense of "namely", "i. e." This usage is exactly the same as that found in classical Arabic[4]. An excellent illustration of this use of לְ is found in Ezek. 44:5: לְכָל־חֻקּוֹת בֵּית־יְהוָה וּלְכָל־תּוֹרֹתָיו "Namely, all the statutes of the house of Jehovah and (namely) all its laws". Again in Ezek. 44:9 the expression, לְכָל־בֶּן־נֵכָר should be rendered: "namely (or "i. e.") every foreigner". This use of לְ seems to have escaped the translators of our English Bible.

In accord with this interpretation we must translate Joshua 12:22, 23 above:

(22)	The king of Kedesh:	One[5].
	The king of Jokneam (i. e., Carmel):	One.
(23)	The king of Dor (i. e., the Heights of Dor):	One.
	The king of Nations (i. e., the District):	One.

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[1] So Dillman, Kittel, Holzinger, Bennett, Steuernagel.

[2] B.D.B. s.v. גָּלִיל.

[3] To these instances should be added לְיִשָּׂרוֹן in verse 18. This verse must be emended to read מֶלֶךְ אֲפֵק לַשָּׂרוֹן אֶחָד (So Bennett, Holzinger, Steuernagel, et al.).

[4] See especially Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 121 f., 273; *Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh.*, p. 18; Wright, *Gram.* (3), II, 151 C; Ges.-Buhl (13), *Handwörterbuch*, under לְ, § 8b.

[5] The numeral "one" does not appear in the Greek, which is here quite corrupt.

Similarly the emended text of verse 18 is to be rendered:

(18) The king of Aphek (i. e., Sharon): One.

In all these instances either the original compiler of the list or a later glossator introduces by means of the preposition לְ a more comprehensive designation of the whole realm ruled by each king. By the "King of Dor", accordingly, is meant the ruler not only of Dor proper but as well of the whole district above the city known as Naphath Dor[1].

The list of kings in Joshua 12:7–24 seems to come from a writer of the Deuteronomic school[2]. It dates, therefore, from the Persian period. Inasmuch as Dor can hardly have come under the domination of the Hebrews until a much later date[3], it is most improbable that Joshua really defeated the King of Dor. Consequently the notice in verse 23 merely reflects the opinion of a Deuteronomic editor writing in the Persian period as to the probable extent of Joshua's conquests.

JOSHUA 17:11-13, JUDGES 1:27, 28, 1 CHRONICLES 7:29.

Following the account of the conquest of Palestine in the first half of the book, Joshua 12-24 deals with the apportionment of the territory. Chapters 16, 17 give a very confused description of the borders of the "children of Joseph," i. e., Ephraim and the western half-tribe of Manasseh. After the south border of the two tribes as a whole, and the borders of Ephraim have been described in chapter 16, Joshua 17 continues with the borders of Manasseh. Verses 11-13 then give a list of cities located in Issachar and Asher ideally assigned to Manasseh, of which the tribe was, however, unable to secure possession.

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[1] The use here of Naphath Dor in parallel construction with the districts Carmel, Galilee and Sharon (compare Josh. 11:2) is fairly conclusive evidence that the term refers to a region dependent on or adjacent to the city of Dor, and is not merely another name for the city itself. See the chapter on Naphath Dor.

[2] Bennett assigns it to D^2; Carpenter and Battersby to R^d; Steuernagel to the Deut. school. Holzinger is inclined to assign it to P^g, though perhaps in dependence on JE.

[3] It is open to doubt whether Dor itself ever came under Hebrew rule. At least there is no satisfactory evidence to prove that it did.

(11) וַיְהִי לִמְנַשֶּׁה בְּיִשָּׂשכָר וּבְאָשֵׁר בֵּית־שְׁאָן וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְיִבְלְעָם
וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי דֹאר וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְיֹשְׁבֵי עֵין־דֹּר וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ
וְיֹשְׁבֵי תַּעֲנַךְ וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְיֹשְׁבֵי מְגִדּוֹ וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת
(12) וְלֹא יָכְלוּ בְּנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה לְהוֹרִישׁ אֶת־הָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיּוֹאֶל
הַכְּנַעֲנִי לָשֶׁבֶת בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת׃
(13) וַיְהִי כִּי חָזְקוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי לָמַס וְהוֹרֵישׁ לֹא
הוֹרִישׁוֹ

(11) "And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher: Beth-shean and its dependencies, and Ibleam and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Dor and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Endor and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Taanach and its dependencies, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies (Third in it is Naphath)[1].

(12) Yet the children of Manasseh were unable to dispossess those cities; but the Canaanites persisted in dwelling in that region.

(13) And it came to pass, when the children of Israel became strong enough, that they put the Canaanites in the working gangs, but by no means dispossessed them."

The Greek (B) reads:

(11) *καὶ ἔσται Μανασσὴ ἐν Ισσαχὰρ καὶ ἐν Ἀσὴρ Καιθοὰν καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δὼρ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Μαγεδδὼ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς Μαφετὰ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς.*

(12) *καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνάσθησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Μανασσὴ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι τὰς πόλεις ταύτας καὶ ἤρχετο ὁ Χαναναῖος κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ·*

(13) *καὶ ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐπεὶ κατίσχυσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς Χαναναίους ὑπηκόους, ἐξολεθρεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐξωλέθρευσαν.*

In v.11 instead of Καιθοαν, $B^{a\ mg}A$ read more correctly Βαιθσαν. For Δωρ, $B^{ab\ mg}$ reads Ἐδωρ. A has the form Μαγεδδωρ. A inserts before *καὶ τὸ τρίτον* the phrase: *καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ταναχ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς.* For Μαφετα, A has Ναφεθα. V.12: A has *ἠδυνήθησαν.* For *ἤρχετο*, A reads *ἤρξατο* (Cp. Judg. 1:27). V.13: A omits the second *καὶ*. For *ἐπεὶ κατίσχυσαν* $B^{b}A$ have *ἐπικατίσχυσαν.* For *ἐξολεθρεῦσαι*, A reads *ὀλεθρεῦσαι.* In verse 11 the rendering of וַיְהִי in the Greek as a future, *ἔσται*, is probably due to the carrying over

[1] See discussion below.

into the narrative of the idea of divine command suggested by the reference in verse 4 to Moses' injunctions. That this is actually meant to be a future form is proved by its repetition in verses 8, 9, 10, and by *καταβήσεται* in verse 9.—In verses 12, 13, הוֹרִישׁ, "to dispossess," is rendered *ἐξολεθρεῦσαι*, "to destroy utterly." (Cp. *ἐξαίρων* in Judg. 1:27 (B), rendered by A there as *ἐκληρονόμησεν*). This use of *ἐξολεθρεῦσαι* is another instance of free interpretation by the translator, who was doubtless influenced in his rendering by the record of the divine injunction to put these cities under the ban (Cp. Josh. 8:2; 6:17, 21, 24).

Included in the first chapter of Judges we have a parallel to the account in Joshua 17:11-13. According to this chapter the conquest of Canaan was not achieved by a single irresistible movement of united Israel (as in the book of Joshua), but by a succession of attacks by single tribes or by coalitions consisting of several tribes bound together by ancient ties or common interests. On the whole the representation in Judges is more historical than that in Joshua. After the narration of positive successes by Judah and Simeon (1:1-20) and by the "House of Joseph" (1:22-26), there follows a series of notices describing the failure of particular tribes to dispossess the native Canaanites. The first of these notices (1:27, 28) deals with the tribe of Manasseh, in whose allotted territory was situated the town of Dor:

(27) וְלֹא הוֹרִישׁ מְנַשֶּׁה אֶת־בֵּית־שְׁאָן וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־תַּעֲנָךְ
וְאֶת־בְּנֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי(י) דור וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי יִבְלְעָם
וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיהָ וְאֶת־יוֹשְׁבֵי מְגִדּוֹ וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיהָ וַיּוֹאֶל הַכְּנַעֲנִי
לָשֶׁבֶת בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת׃
(28) וַיְהִי כִּי־חָזַק יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּשֶׂם אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי לָמַס וְהוֹרֵישׁ לֹא
הוֹרִישׁוֹ׃

(27) "And Manasseh did not dispossess Beth-shean and its dependencies, nor Taanach and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Dor and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies; but the Canaanites persisted in dwelling in that region.

(28) And it came to pass, when Israel became strong enough, that they placed the Canaanites in the working gangs, but by no means dispossessed them."

The Greek reads:

(27) καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆρεν Μανασσὴ τὴν Βαιθσάν, ἥ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις, οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τὰ περίοικα αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τὴν Θανὰκ οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δὼρ οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τὸν κατοικοῦντα Βαλὰκ οὐδὲ τὰ περίοικα αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Μαγεδὼ οὐδὲ τὰ περιοικα αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτὴς, οὐδὲ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἰεβλαὰμ οὐδὲ τὰ περίοικα αὐτῆς οὐδὲ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῆς· καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ Χαναναῖος κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ.

(28) καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐνίσχυσεν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸν Χαναναῖον εἰς φόρον, καὶ ἐξαίρων οὐκ ἐξῆρεν αὐτόν.

For ἐξῆρεν in v. 27 of the Greek, A reads ἐκληρονόμησεν. (For Βαλακ it has Βαλααμ; this form stands in place of יִבְלְעָם of the Hebrew text and corresponds to it. (Cp. Βαλααδ in the Greek of 1 Chron. 7:29.) Evidently the initial ' has been lost because the final ' of the preceding יִשָּׂכָר confused the copyist. (Cp. the copyist's error in the loss of the final ' of יִשָּׂכָר before דּוֹר in this same verse.) Later, since the name Jibleam seemed to have been omitted in this list, someone added it *after* Megiddo, thus really repeating the name for Jibleam and giving six instead of five towns[1]. For περίοικα 1°, A gives περισπόρια; he omits it 2°, 3°, 4°. ἥ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις is probably an interpretative comment by the translator, or else a later gloss that has strayed into the text.

Again in 1 Chron. 7:29 there appears a notice similar to and doubtless derived from those in Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:27. In his notices contained in chapters 4-7 concerning the genealogies, history and military strength of the tribes, the Chronicler in chap. 7:14-29 groups together the two sons of Joseph. Verses 14-19 of chapter 7 give the genealogy of Manasseh, while verses 20-27 trace Ephraim's genealogy; in verse 28 the cities on the southern border of Ephraim are listed, while verse 29 gives the principal cities on the northern border of Manasseh. Instead of mentioning all the cities belonging to these two tribes, the writer describes their combined territories by naming those cities on the southern and northern boundaries. In his enumeration of the towns on the north, Dor is included (v. 29).

[1] In the *Enc. Bib.*, Article "Dor," only four towns, viz., "Bethshean, Ibleam, Megiddo and Dor," are mentioned in Judg. 1:27. Evidently the omission of Taanach is an oversight.

(29) וְעַל־יְדֵי בְנֵי־מְנַשֶּׁה בֵּית־שְׁאָן וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ תַּעְנָךְ וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ מְגִדּוֹ
וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ דּוֹר וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ בְּאֵלֶּה יָשְׁבוּ בְנֵי יוֹסֵף בֶּן־יִשְׂרָאֵל

The Greek reads:

(29) *καὶ ἕως ὁρίων υἱῶν Μανασσή, Βαιθσαὰν καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς, Θαλμὴ καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς· καὶ Βαλὰδ καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς, Μαγεδδεὶ καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς, Δὼρ καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῆς· ἐν ταύτῃ κατῴκησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰωσὴφ υἱοῦ Ἰσραήλ.*

(29) "And upon the borders of the children of Manasseh, Bethshean and its dependencies, Taanach and its dependencies, Megiddo and its dependencies, Dor and its dependencies. In these dwelt the children of Joseph the son of Israel."

Comments on the Greek: For *Θαλμη*, A reads *Θααναχ*. A has *Μαγεδδω*. For *υἱοῦ* A* reads *υἱοὶ*. For *Βαλαδ* A reads *Βαλααδ*, which evidently corresponds to *Βαλααμ* of Judg. 1:27 (A), and like it is a corrupt rendering of יִבְלְעָם. The initial iota of *Ἰεβλαάμ* was perhaps dropped through the influence of the final iota of *καὶ* preceding the name. (But cp. בִּלְעָם of 1 Chron. 6:55). The form *Βαλααδ* (with *δ*) may be due to the common confusion in Greek uncial writing of Δ and M. The fact that the name occurs in some of the Greek texts[1], though lacking in the Hebrew, is probably to be accounted for by the tendency of the Greek translators (or editors) to use their own judgment in revising and interpreting the text before them (Cp. *Δωρ* in the Greek of Judg. 1:31, and *ἥ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις* of Judg. 1:27). Here Jibleam seems to have been introduced from the parallel passages in Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:27, more probably the latter[2].

As has been suggested above[3], the peculiar phrase שְׁלִשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת in Josh. 17:11 was in all probability originally a marginal gloss, שלישתה נפת, that later found its way into the text, meant to point out that *the third town in the list* (שְׁלִשָׁתָהּ = "third of it") was to be read with prefixed נָפַת; i. e., נָפַת דאר. This was evidently a variant reading, whether the original and correct one

[1] Lagarde's Edition omits *Βαλαδ* but follows the order of B. Instead of *Μανασσὴ*, it reads *Μωυσῆς*. Holmes-Parsons omits *Βαλααδ* in the text (based on ΚΕΦ) but records it as appearing in several texts.

[2] The order of towns (except Dor) follows that of Judg. 1:27, and the form *Βαλααδ* is, as explained above, equivalent to *Βαλααμ* of that verse.

[3] Pages 26 f.

or intended merely to distinguish this דאר from other Dor's, for example, from עין דר in the same verse. By a very natural mistake, the two words of the gloss were wrongly divided, the ה being taken for the article and therefore joined to the following. The gloss was then inserted at the end of the verse, no other place being obviously suitable for it. הנפת could not of course be read as הַנֶּפֶת, since נֶפֶת could only be *the construct state* of a noun נֶפֶה, from the root נוף. The word was therefore not unnaturally read as a segholate, הַנֶּפֶת[1], as though from a root נפת. (To read הַנֹּפֶת, as some modern commentators have suggested, is only to make a bad matter worse. The phrase would be grammatically objectionable, שלשת with a *feminine* noun, and the troublesome article; moreover, it has no possible meaning in the present context.) This explanation seems to be the only one that will in any satisfactory manner really explain the phrase that has proved such a stumbling block to all commentators[2].

In שְׁלִישְׁתָּה of Ezekiel 21:19 (Heb.) we have a case almost exactly parallel to the one under discussion. The true significance of the form שְׁלִישְׁתָּה has also in this instance escaped the commentators. The verse, now corrupt, reads as follows:

(19) וְאַתָּה בֶן־אָדָם הִנָּבֵא וְהַךְ כַּף אֶל־כָּף וְתִכָּפֵל חֶרֶב שְׁלִישְׁתָּה
חֶרֶב חַלְלִים הִיא חֶרֶב חָלָל הַגָּדוֹל הַחֹדֶרֶת לָהֶם

Apparently, a marginal note, שְׁלִישְׁתָּה חֶרֶב חַלָּלִים, supplied a variant reading for חֶרֶב חָלָל (which is the *third* time the word חֶרֶב appears in the verse). That is, the form of the verse which the glossator wished to preserve was the following: ותכפל חרב חרב חללים היא חרב חללים הגדול וגו׳. Observe that this reading (with חַלָּלִים instead of חָלָל) is supported by the Old Greek (τραυματιῶν) and by the Peshitto (ܚܒܝܠ̈ܐ), which accordingly corroborate our proposed explanation of the difficult שְׁלִישְׁתָּה.—For the rest, the verse is obscure; in fact this very obscurity may have led to the writing of the marginal gloss that later, by its insertion into

[1] The ֶ in נֶפֶת is lengthened in pause.

[2] The Greek, with its τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ναφεθά, has mistaken the phrase as a town name, and is of no assistance in determining the true meaning of the expression.

the text, greatly added to the difficulties. But whatever may be the correct reading of the rest of the passage, the explanation given for שְׁלִישְׁתָּה is apparently the only one that will really account for its presence in the verse.

That the above interpretation of the occurrence of שְׁלִשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת in Josh. 17:11 is correct is rendered still more sure by the study of a similarly obscure phrase in Isaiah 65:7. Here at the end of the verse we read: וּמַדֹּתִי פְּעֻלָּתָם רִאשֹׁנָה עַל חֵיקָם. The concluding phrase of the preceding verse (65:6) reads: וְשִׁלַּמְתִּי עַל חֵיקָם. In some manuscripts there must have been variation in, or doubt about, the reading of the preposition. (The form עַל of our M.T. is obviously a combination of the two readings אֶל and עַל). Consequently, some scribe seems to have placed in the margin opposite verse 7 a note calling attention to the fact that the undoubted reading of verse 6, the "first" (רִאשֹׁנָה) occurrence of the phrase, was עַל חֵיקָם. When this gloss, viz. רִאשֹׁנָה עַל, was transferred from the margin into the text, the vowel of the אֶל which already stood there was carefully preserved.

In each of the three cases discussed above (i. e., Josh. 17:11, Ezek. 21:19 and Is. 65:7), the recognition of the gloss "first time" or "third time" solves a riddle which has seemed insoluble. Cases of the insertion of the similar gloss "second time" (שׁנית) are already well known; see for example the commentators on Ezekiel 4:6.

A comparison of the Hebrew of Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:27 reveals the fact that the former has one name (viz. עֵין דֹּר) more than the latter. Nor does Endor appear in 1 Chron. 7:29. In the Peshitto of Josh. 17:11, Endor has actually displaced Dor. Together with Jibleam it is omitted in the Greek (A) of the verse in Joshua[1]. Inasmuch as Endor lies considerably north of the rest of this line of border towns, and the textual evidence for it is so poor, it probably has no place at all in this list. It would seem that in some early manuscript Dor was written defectively. This led to the conjecture that Endor was meant, which thus crept into the text as an additional name. Some later reader decided, and

[1] It is barely possible that Ἐδωρ of B$^{a\ b\ mg}$ may represent the name.—The B-text also omits Taanach. These omissions in the Greek are probably accidental.

rightly, that Naphath Dor was meant; his conjecture is preserved in שְׁלִשֶׁת הַנָּפַת at the close of the verse. In view of the probabilities, and of the evidence against its originality, we must reject עֵין דֹּר from Josh. 17:11.

Of the three passages cited (i.e. Josh. 17:11-13; Judg. 1:27, 28 and 1 Chron. 7:29) the one in Judges is in all probability the oldest and most historical. Apparently the notice in Joshua has been borrowed from that in Judges and has been modified to some extent. To fit the later theory of the tribal domains, the Joshua passage introduces the "correction:" בְּיִשָּׂשכָר וּבְאָשֵׁר. Just what this theory in regard to the settlements of the tribes was, it is impossible for us, in view of the confused and conflicting statements regarding it, to determine. That Judg. 1:27, 28 is the older and better account is further indicated by the fact that it bluntly states that Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of these cities (which, according to 2:1b-5a, they could have done had they obeyed Jahweh's commands), while Josh. 17:12 softens this down and lessens their guilt by declaring the children of Manasseh were *not able* to dispossess them. In the retention in Josh. 17:11 of the accusative וְאֶת־יִשְׁבֵי and of וְיִשְׁבֵי from Judg. 1:27 (where they fit into the construction as they do not at all in the Joshua passage) there is added evidence for the dependence of Josh. 17:11-13 on Judg. 1:27, 28.

The list of boundaries of Manasseh in 1 Chron. 7:29 agrees in content but not in form with Josh. 17:11[1]. It would appear that the Chronicler has rearranged the names he found in the other two passages, so that the order followed by him is the correct geographical one, with Dor last. To change (with Moore and Budde) the arrangement of the towns in Josh. 17:11, Judg. 1:27, so as to follow the geographical order is hardly justifiable. Both passages place Dor third in the list, and the gloss שלישתה נפת corroborates this order. The Taanach.....Jibleam order of Judg. 1:27 may have been corrected by the one who borrowed the verse in Josh. 17:11. Dor's position in both passages may be due to a doubt as to which Dor was meant (cp. Endor in Josh. 17:11)[2]. It would

[1] As explained above, Jibleam is not given by the Chronicler (Hebrew) though it is represented in the Greek by Βαλα(α)ώ.

[2] Ancient lists of towns are often in very irregular order. See on Judith 2:28 below, p. 55.

appear that the account in Judges belongs to the J. strand of narrative, and that Josh. 17:11 is borrowed from this account.

The cities mentioned in these passages form a line stretching from Bethshean on the east to Dor on the west. Bethshean (mod. Beisān) is situated at the eastern end of the Great Plain. Jibleam has been identified with the modern Bel'ameh, south of Ġenīn[1], others place it northwest of Bethshean, the modern Yebla[2]. Taanach (mod. Ta'annuk) lies west of Bethshean and northwest of Bel'ameh. Megiddo is northwest of Taanach, at the modern Leġġūn. This chain of fortified cities separated the tribes of Joseph from their brethren struggling for a foothold in Galilee to the north.

וַיּוֹאֶל in Josh. 17:12, Judg. 1:27 contains the idea of determination, and the clause may be translated "persisted in dwelling (or remaining)"[3]. The Hebrew text of Judg. 1:27 is quite irregular in its use or omission of יֹשְׁבֵי and בְּנוֹתֶיהָ. The reference in Josh. 17:13; Judg. 1:28, to the time when Israel become strong (חזק) is probably to the times of David. We have no satisfactory proof that the city of Dor ever came into his power, although in 1 Kings 4:11 the whole region of Naphath Dor is assigned to Ben-Abinadab, Solomon's son-in-law[4]. מַס refers to the working gangs.

Thus, according to the accounts of Josh. 17:11-13; Judg. 1:27, 28 and 1 Chron. 7:29, Dor is one of the border cities of Manasseh, whose Canaanite inhabitants maintained possession of their cities at the time of the Hebrew invasion. Later, it is claimed, these inhabitants were put to task-work by their Hebrew conquerors. It may be doubted whether the Hebrews ever secured more than a brief suzerainty (if even that) over the people of remote Dor. The frank statement that "they by no means expelled them" indicates that the town remained Canaanite. As for Dor, it was far away in Philistine or Phoenician rather than in Hebrew territory, and therefore in a position to maintain its freedom.

JUDGES 1:31.

The Greek of Judges 1:31 includes Dor among the cities assigned to Asher which remained unconquered. The verse reads (A-text):

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[1] Moore, Budde.

[2] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, Maps I, VI.

[3] B.D.B. s.v. יָאַל; Moore on the passage.

[4] See below.

(13) καὶ Ἀσὴρ οὐκ ἐξῆρεν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἀκχώ. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ εἰς φόρον, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δὼρ καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Σιδῶνα καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δαλὰφ καὶ τὸν Ἀσχενδεὶ καὶ τὴν Σχεδιὰν καὶ τὴν Ἀφὲκ καὶ τὴν Ῥοώβ.

In the Massoretic text Dor does not appear. None of the versions except the Greek seem to have it[1]. The textual evidence for the genuineness of the citation of Dor in this place is, therefore, very poor. In all probability the name is an insertion into the Greek based on the passage in Josh. 17:11, where Dor is mentioned among the enclaves of Manasseh in Issachar and Asher[2]. Both Moore and Budde comment on the absence in the Hebrew of Tyre, which lies between Accho and Sidon; this is the very position occupied by Dor in the passage. It is, of course, barely possible that there was present in the original Hebrew the name צוֹר; but of this we have no proof. In view of the faulty character of the Greek text of Judges and of the evidence of free redaction in it, we must consider it probable that the inclusion of Dor in the Greek of 1:31 is the word of an editor's hand. In any case it adds nothing to the information contained in the passages already discussed.

1 KINGS 4:11.

1 Kings 4:7-19 contains a list of twelve victualling officers of Solomon, placed over "all Israel." Fourth in this list appears (verse 11) the name of Ben-Abinadab, in charge of "all Naphath Dor:"

(11) בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב כָּל־נָפַת דֹּאר טָפַת בַּת־שְׁלֹמֹה הָיְתָה לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה

Translation: "Ben-Abinadab, all the Height of Dor; (Taphath, the daughter of Solomon, was his wife.)"

The Greek reads (A)[3]:

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[1] Walton's *Polyglot*.

[2] The verse Josh. 17:11 is based, as indicated above, on Judg. 1:27, which also names Dor and precedes the passage now under discussion by only three verses. Probably these verses are all connected with one another, at least in the mind of the Greek translator.

[3] The text of B in this verse is hopelessly confused and corrupt; it is another illustration to prove how poor is the document Swete chose as his basic text.

(11) *νἱοῦ* Ἀβιναδὰβ *πᾶσα* Νεφαδδώρ. Ταφατὰ *θυγάτηρ* Σαλωμὼν *ἦν αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα* (BKEΦ add *εἶς*).

Whether בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב and the other names in this list compounded with Ben are surnames like Ben-Hadad[1] in 1 Kings 20, or whether the proper names originally preceded Ben and were later accidentally dropped, is uncertain. In the Greek, *νἱοῦ* should become *νἱός*. The *εἶς* which appears at the end in many good manuscripts may point to an original אֶחָד as in Josh. 12:9 ff.

The mention of sons-in-law of Solomon in this section points to a period somewhat advanced in his reign. However, considering the evident fact that the whole tendency of 1 Kings 3-11 is to magnify Solomon and his reign, we may well doubt the historicity of these reputed divisions of his kingdom. Again, as has already been said, it can hardly be put down as certain that Solomon's realm really included the remote district of Dor, located as it is in debatable territory lying between Philistia and Phoenicia. It is, however, true that Biblical tradition is consistent in ascribing to Solomon a greater extent of territory than was held by any other Hebrew ruler. If ever the "height of Dor" belonged to Israel, it was at that time. The passage does not seem to be from the oldest strand of the narrative of the Books of Kings; very likely it was from some other historical work editorially included in the book[2].

JUDITH 2:28.

In the book of Judith, following the account of Holofernes' punitive ravages in the plain of Damascus, the terror inspired by him in the coast cities is described as follows (Judith 2:28 (18), A Text):

καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ τρόμος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν παραλίαν, τοὺς ὄντας ἐν Σιδῶνι καὶ ἐν Τύρῳ, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Σοὺρ καὶ Ὀκεινά. καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἰεμνάαν, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀζώτῳ καὶ Ἀσκάλωνι ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτὸν σφόδρα.

(28) "And the fear and dread of him fell upon them that dwelt on the sea coast, upon them that were in Sidon and in Tyre, and

[1] Gray (*Prop. Names*, pp. 73 f.) explains the form of these names on the theory that, like Ben-Hadad, some or all of these officers were foreigners.

[2] So Stade in *S.B.O.T.*

upon them that dwelt in Dor and Accho, and upon all that dwelt in Jamnia; and they that dwelt in Azotus and Ascalon feared him exceedingly."

After Ἀσκάλωνι, ℵ· II.-P. X, 58. Syr. Old Lat., read καὶ Γάζῃ. It is quite possible that Gaza stood in the original text. For Ὀκεινά, ℵ^{ca} and II.-P. 19, 108 read Κινναιους. But the town-name better fits the context. Ὀκεινά is, as most commentators agree, Accho (= Ptolemais), a haven north of Carmel.

For the third town in the list, the B-text reads Ἀσσούρ, of which Ἀσ is merely the repetition of the final letters of the preceding κατοικοῦντας. The reading of ℵ*, Τουρ, is perhaps influenced by the preceding Τύρῳ. The Syriac with ܕܘܪ evidently renders a Greek name written with σ. Löhr (in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen*), following Ball (in *Wace's Apocrypha*) and Ewald[1], interprets the form as an accidental repetition of the foregoing Τυρῳ. (=Çor.). Fritzsche rightly rejects Ewald's suggestion as being quite improbable, and fixes instead upon דור as the city here referred to. He argues that the locality speaks strongly for his interpretation; and that Dor and Accho are so close to one another that the fact that the names have exchanged places in the list is quite without significance. It should be remarked in this connection that ancient writers, even in strictly geographical treatises, are by no means careful to preserve the correct geographical order in their lists of cities[2]. It is, besides, open to question whether the writer of the book knew much about the relative positions of the northern coast cities; he might easily have made the mistake through ignorance. Even if the original order of towns in this verse was the correct one, the later faulty writing of the name of Dor as Σουρ and of Ἀκκο as Ὀκεινα would have caused confusion; perhaps this led to the transposition of Dor to its present position after Tyre[3]. As far as the form Σουρ is concerned, it would appear that in some cursive manuscript δ was written so much like σ that δωρ was read as σωρ. Inasmuch as the

[1] *Gesch. des V. Israels*, III, 2, p. 544.

[2] Cp. the varying order of cities in Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:27 above; see also *Bibl. Geog. Arab.* VII, p. 327, line 7 (Jubail, Ṣaidā, Beirūt); p. 329, 2 ff. (Caesarea, Jamnia, Jaffa): 2R53, No. 4, lines 55–58 (discussed below), gives the order: Samaria, Damascus, Dor, Megiddo.

[3] It is not at all impossible that the transposition took place under the impression that Σουρ was actually a doublet to Τυρῳ.

confusion of ω and ου is a very common phenomenon, the variation between Σουρ and Δωρ is easily explained.

The date of the composition of Judith is generally placed in the second century B. C. It is a romance with its setting in the times of Nebuchadrezzar. As such it has little or no historical value. The principal value of this notice consists, therefore, in its indication that in the second century B. C. the writer recognized in Dor one of the coast towns important enough to merit enumeration in a list of the larger cities of the region.

THE ESHMUNAZAR INSCRIPTION AND DOR.

The Eshmunazar inscription (Lines 18-20) states that the "Lord of Kings", in return for assistance rendered, presented Dor and Joppa to King Eshmunazar II of Sidon as a perpetual possession. The text of the inscription reads:[1]

18. ועד · יתן · לן · אדן · מלכם ·
19. אית · דאר · ויפי · ארצת · דגן · האדרת · אש · בשד · שרן ·
למדת · עצמת · אש · פעלת · ויספננם
20. עלת · גבל · ארן · לכננם · לצדנם · לעלם ·

18. "Furthermore, the Lord of Kings gave to us Dor and Joppa[2], the glorious lands of Dagon which are in the field of Sharon, in recognition of the assistance which I rendered; and we joined them to the territory of the land, to belong to the Sidonians forever."

The date of this inscription is variously stated as the fourth or the third century B.C., i.e., either in the Persian or in the early Greek period. The argument for the date has usually depended on the interpretation of the expression "Lord of Kings" (אדן מלכם). It is urged[3] that this is a Ptolemaic title and that the inscription must therefore be dated about the middle of the third century B.C. Schlottman[4] on the other hand refers to the Persian custom of rewarding with gifts of cities those rulers who had served Persian interests in some special manner. He therefore dates the inscription in the period of Persian prosperity, perhaps during the time of the wars with Greece. Schürer[5], on the basis of Scylax' *Δῶρος πόλις Σιδονίων*[6], decides that the inscription must certainly be placed in the Persian period. His contention is that the transfer of Dor to

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[1] *C.I.S.* I, 3; Lidzbarski, Taf. IV:2.

[2] Hilprecht (*Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 615 ff.) makes the incorrect statement that "Eshmunazar extended the boundaries of Sidon by the conquest (sic !) of Dor and Joppa."

[3] E. Meyer in *Enc. Bib.*, 3762 f., s.v. Phoenicia; Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 40.

[4] *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars*, pp. 48 ff.

[5] *G.J.V.* II, 129.

[6] *Geographi graeci minores*, ed. Müller, I, 79.

Sidon which Scylax' statement presupposes is the one referred to here by Eshmunazar. Inasmuch as Scylax lived about 350 B.C.[1], Eshmunazar must be dated in the period of Persia's supremacy. This argument of Schürer seems to have considerable weight. The counter-argument based on the usage of "King of Kings" by the Persians instead of "Lord of Kings" is not decisive. The latter title was used of Alexander[2] and others, and may well have been applied to the Persian overlord.

The excavation of the temple of Eshmūn at Sidon possibly throws some light on the question of the date of Eshmunazar II. According to the report of Macridy-Bey[3], a first temple was destroyed and another built in its place. This second temple was in its turn demolished, not later than the latter half of the third century B.C. The date of the building of the second temple Macridy-Bey, on the basis of fragments of architecture found there, places in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. The destruction of the *first* temple he therefore dates about the middle of the same (i.e., the fourth) century. It must therefore have been built at least as early as the first half of the fourth century B.C. More convincing still is the discovery, amongst the debris from the first temple found under the pavement of the reconstructed temple, of a votive inscription in basalt upon which were engraved several lines in hieroglyphic script giving the name of Ak'horis, an Egyptian King of the 29th dynasty (393-381 B.C.) This would bring the probable date of the first temple back to the 5th century. Now the inscriptions of King Bod-ashtart were found imbedded in the core of the north wall of the reconstructed temple[4]. They were so placed in the inside of the wall that they could neither be seen nor read, and evidently consisted of stones from the old temple used in rebuilding the later one. These inscriptions, therefore, probably belonged to the first temple and are to be dated not later than the early fourth century B.C. Inasmuch as Bod-ashtart belongs to the same generation as Eshmunazar II (both being grandsons of Eshmunazar I), Eshmunazar II

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[1] Schürer, *l.c.*; Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, II, 77.

[2] E.g., in the Umm-el-'Awamid inscription (*C.I.S.* I, 7; Cooke, p. 44).

[3] *Le Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon* (Fouilles du Musée Impérial Ottoman), pp. 13 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

should probably likewise be connected with the first temple, and his inscription dated in the early fourth century. When this evidence is taken in connection with the testimony of Scylax (discussed above) we have fairly strong presumptive evidence that Eshmunazar (and the inscription) antedates the Greek period and should be dated during the period of Persian domination. This tentative conclusion does not, of course, exclude the possibility that further discoveries in Syria may cause us to decide in favor of another date for this inscription.

דגן in line 19 has been variously translated as "corn" and as the god "Dagon." We know that Dagon was worshipped among the Philistines[1]. Joppa lies well toward Philistia, and Dor, as indicated above, was settled by the Takkara related to the Philistines. There is, therefore, every possibility that at this time Dagon[2] was also the god of Joppa and Dor, and that the inscription means to indicate that these regions were within the realms of that god.

The use of the adjective אדרת may give some slight indication that דגן is to be interpreted as the name of the god. In both Hebrew and Phoenician, אַדִּיר has the meaning "majestic", "glorious"[3], and is very frequently used as an epithet of divine beings (e. g. in *C.I.S.* 118, and in the cry of the Philistines in 1 Sam. 4:8). Compare also such common Phoenician names as אדרבעל. In line 16 of this same (i. e. Eshmunazar) inscription the word is used in the phrase שמים אדרם ("Glorious Heavens"), which apparently designated the hilly district where the temples of the gods were built[4]. Cooke (*North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 38) says of the adjective here: "The idea of expanse is contained in the

[1] Moore in *Enc. Bib.*, p. 983: Paton in Hast. *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, s.v.; Schrader in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch*.

[2] It seems most probable that Dagon is related to the Babylonian god Dagān (so Moore, Paton, Schrader, E. Meyer in *Enc. Bib.*, s.v. Phoenicia). It would appear that this god was found in the land by its Philistine, etc. conquerors and adopted by them. The name Dagon is probably connected with דָּגָן (=corn), for he seems to have been both in Babylonia and Canaan a god of agriculture. On a seal he has the emblem of an ear of corn (Paton, *l.c.*). On the other hand it is still possible that the name comes from דָּג, "fish" (so Schrader, *l. c.*; Meyer, *Gaza*, pp. 115 ff.).

[3] B.D.B., s.v.; Siegfried und Stade, s.v.; so also in New Hebrew, cp. Jastrow, *Dict. of Targ.*, s.v.

[4] Torrey in *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 23 (1902), p. 163; vol. 24 (1903), pp. 214 ff.

root; so אדר is suitably applied to the wide corn-lands of ישרן". It seems much more probable that the choice of the adjective is due to the presence of the divine name, Dagon. This agrees with the usual connotation of אַדִּיר. The use of this particular adjective here is, of course, very precarious evidence for the worship of Dagon in Dor at the time of the Eshmunazar dynasty; and yet its possible value must be admitted[1].

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[1] Neubauer (*Géog. Talm.*, p. 13) translates: "pays du Dagon *adoré*" with the note: "La racine אדר se trouve plusieurs fois dans cette même inscription avec le sens 'adorer'." While he has correctly perceived that the adjective has probably been chosen with reference to the mention of the god, he has no sufficient warrant, either in this inscription or elsewhere, for translating it "adoré." The grammatical form forbids this and requires that האדרת be read with ארצת.

EARLY GREEK WRITERS.

HECATAEUS.

That Dor was not unknown to the Greeks in early times is evidenced by the citation from Hecataeus of Miletus in Stephan of Byzantium[1]. Hecataeus, who lived c. 500 B. C., is quoted as follows (from his *περιήγησις*): Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ· "*μετὰ δὲ ἡ πάλαι Δῶρος. νῦν δὲ Δῶρα καλεῖται.*"

"Hecataeus in (section on) Asia: 'And next comes ancient Doros, now, however, called Dora'."

But the change from Doros to Dora occurred long after the time of Hecataeus[2]. It seems, therefore, that the version of Hecataeus used by Stephan of Byzantium had been added to by interpolation. We have no reason to doubt, however, that Hecataeus knew and mentioned Dor.

CRATERUS.

It has been argued by some[3] that Dor was for a time tributary to the Athenians during the period of Athen's hegemony in the Mediterranean (fifth century B. C.). This claim is based on the assumption that Dor in Caria mentioned by Stephan of Byzantium[4] is really the Phoenician Dor. The passage from Stephan reads as follows:

ἔστι καὶ Καρικὴ Δῶρος πόλις. ἣν συγκαταλέγει ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς Καρικαῖς Κρατερὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ψηφισμάτων τρίτῳ "Καρικὸς φόρος Δῶρος, Φασηλῖται."

"There is also a city of Caria named Dōros, which Craterus[5] in the third book of his treatise 'Concerning Decrees' records among the Carian cities (as follows): 'Carian tribute: Doros, the Phaselians'."

Phaselis, the city named with Dor as on the Carian tribute-list, was situated on the Lycian-Pamphylian border. These provinces

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[1] *Steph. Byz.* s.v. *Δῶρος*; Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.*, I, 17, n. 260.

[2] See chapter on the name Dor; Schür., *G.J.V.*, II, pp. 138 f.

[3] See Cooke, *Enc. Bib.*, s.v. Dor; Schür., *G.J.V.*, II, pp. 138 ff.

[4] S.v. *Δῶρος*.

[5] Greek historian of the third cent. B. C. (Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.*, s.v.)

are far from our Dor, and it would require much more conclusive evidence than has yet been brought forward to establish a probability that we are to look south of Mt. Carmel for the city named by Craterus[1]. It may be that settlements of Greek Dorians in Caria led Craterus to speak of a city Doros that had no real existence. It is far more probable, however, that the Dorians actually had in Caria a city Doros, since the name is not uncommon. It seems best, therefore, to reject the assumption that Phoenician Dor is intended in the passage under discussion.

APOLLODORUS.

Apollodorus, an Athenian grammarian who lived c. 140 B.C.[2], is quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus[3] as follows:

Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ Δῶρον καλεῖ ἐν Χρονικῶν δ' "εἰς Δῶρον οὖσαν ἐπιθαλάττιον πόλιν."

"And Apollodorus mentions Dor in the fourth (book of his) Chronica: 'To Dor which is a maritime city.'"

ARTEMIDORUS OF EPHESUS.

From Artemidorus of Ephesus, a geographer who wrote c.103 B.C., we have a fragment in which Dor is mentioned in connection with Strato's Tower (later Caesarea) and Mt. Carmel. The passage reads[4]:

καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δῶρα τὴν πόλιν οἶδεν ἐν Ἐπιτομῇ τῶν ιά "Συνεχῶς δ' ἐστὶ Στράτωνος πύργος, εἶτα ἔνι Δῶρα ἐπὶ χερσονησοειδοῦς τόπον κείμενον πολισμάτιον, ἀρχομένου τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καρμήλου." καὶ ἐν θ' γεωγραφουμένων τὸ αὐτό.

"And Artemidorus is acquainted with the city Dor in his Epitome book 11: 'And adjacent is Strato's Tower, then comes

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[1] Köhler, *Urkunden u. Untersuch. zur Gesch. des delischattischen Bundes* (Abhandlungen der Berliner Akad., 1869), p. 207, cites from another Athenian tribute-list Κελένδερις (on the Cilician coast opposite Cyprus) to prove that Athenian influence reached far towards Syria. But this city is too remote from the Phoenician Dor to establish his contention.

[2] *Enc. Brit.* s.v. Apollodorus.

[3] Ed. Meineke, s.v. Δῶρος.

[4] *Steph. Byz.*, l.c.: C. Müller, *Geog. Graec. min.*, I, 576, Fragm. 18 (from Marcian of Heraclea).

Dora, a small town situated upon a peninsula, near the beginning of Mt. Carmel.' And in the ninth book of the Geography the same."

ALEXANDER EPHESIUS.

In his geographical poem, Alexander Ephesius[1], a contemporary of Cicero (106-43 B.C.), joins Joppa and Dor in one of his lines. Stephanus Byzantinus[2] cites as follows:

καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ἀσίᾳ "Δῶρος τ' ἀγχίαλός τ' Ἰόπη προύχουσα θαλάσσης."

"And Alexander in the section, 'Asia'[3]: 'Both Dor bordering on the water and Joppa jutting forth into the sea.'"

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[1] Called Λύχνος; Knaack in Pauly-Wissowas *Enc.* s.v. Alexander Ephesius, n. 86.

[2] Quoted in Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina*, p. 374.

[3] The geographical poem was divided into three parts, Εὐρώπη, Ἀσία and Λιβύη.

HISTORY OF DOR DURING THE GREEK, MACCABEAN AND ROMAN PERIODS.

POLYBIUS, HISTORIAE 5:66.

In the course of his early campaigns against Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt, Antiochus III ("the Great") besieged Dor without result. The strength of the place and the reënforcements sent by Nicolaus, together with the approach of winter, made him abandon his attempt. This was in the year 219 B.C. Polybius thus records the incident[1]:

Ἀντίοχος δὲ συνεσταμένος πολιορκίαν περὶ τὴν καλουμένην πόλιν Δοῦρα[2], καὶ περαίνειν οὐδὲν δυνάμενος διά τε τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ τόπου καὶ τὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Νικόλαον παραβοηθείας, συνάπτοντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος, συνεχώρησε ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρεσβείαις ἀνοχάς τε ποιήσασθαι τετραμήνους καὶ τῶν ὅλων εἰς πάντα συγκαταβήσεσθαι τὰ φιλάνθρωπα. . . . . ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττε, πλεῖστον μὲν ἀπέχων τῆς ἀληθείας· σπεύδων δὲ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ἀποσπᾶσθαι τῶν οἰκείων τόπων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν δυνάμεων παραχείμασίαν.

"But Antiochus had begun a siege against the city named Dor, and could accomplish nothing because of the strength of the place and because of the reënforcements they received from Nicolaus[3]. Since winter was already drawing near he agreed with the ambassadors of Ptolemy (Philopator) to observe an armistice of four months duration and to enter into friendly relations in everything that concerned the war. And this he did although he was far from sincerity in the matter. He was eager, rather, not to be long separated from his own lands, but instead to pass the winter with his troops in Seleucia."

Whether Dor fell into Antiochus' hands the following year (218 B.C.) on his way to the defeat at Raphia is not recorded.

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[1] *Historiae*, 5:66, ed. Büttner-Wobst II, p. 185 f.; Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 744; cp. Noris, *Annus et Epochae Syromacedonum*, on Polyb., V:66; Schürer, II, 139.

[2] In Δοῦρα, οῦ is, as remarked above, simply the confusion of *ου* with *ω*, a common phenomenon.

[3] An Aetolian, one of Ptolemy's generals (*Polyb.* 5:61, 68. 70). Later he fights with Antiochus the Great against Arsaces (*Polyb.* 10:29).

Probably it became subject to him for a time after his victory at Paneas in the year 198 B.C.[1].

1 MACCABEES 15; ANTIQUITIES XIII, 7:2.

Dor was again besieged in 139-8 B.C., by Antiochus VII (Sidetes). Trypho, who had ruled since his assassination of Antiochus VI (Dionysus) in 142 B.C., and had by his excessive luxury and caprices alienated even his troops, had been obliged to flee before Antiochus Sidetes to Dor for refuge. The siege was raised, however, when Trypho in some way managed to escape from the city. First Maccabees 15:10-14; 25-27; 37; 39c reads[2]:

10. ἔτους τετάρτου καὶ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ἐξῆλθεν Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν γῆν τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις, ὥστε ὀλίγους εἶναι σὺν Τρύφωνι. 11. καὶ ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Δωρὰ φεύγων τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. 12. ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι ἐπισυνῆκται ἐπ' αὐτὸν κακά, καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτὸν αἱ δυνάμεις. 13. καὶ παρενέβαλεν Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Δωρά, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δώδεκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν πολεμιστῶν καὶ ὀκτακισχιλία ἵππος. 14. καὶ ἐκύκλωσεν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης συνῆψαν· καὶ συνέθλιβεν τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν οὐδένα ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ εἰσπορεύεσθαι. 25. Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρενέβαλεν ἐπὶ Δωρὰ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, προσάγων διὰ παντὸς αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μηχανὰς ποιούμενος, καὶ συνέκλεισεν τὸν Τρύφωνα τοῦ εἰσπορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι. 26. καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Σίμων δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐκλεκτοὺς συμμαχῆσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ σκεύη ἱκανά. 27. καὶ οὐκ ἠβούλετο αὐτὰ δέξασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἠθέτησεν πάντα ὅσα ἐσυνέθετο αὐτῷ τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ἠλλοτριοῦτο αὐτῷ. 37. Τρύφων δὲ ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον ἔφυγεν εἰς Ὀρθωσίαν. 39c. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐδίωκε τὸν Τρύφωνα.

10. "In the one hundred and seventy fourth year (i.e. of the Seleucid era=Oct. 139 B.C.–Oct. 138 B.C.) Antiochus (Sidetes) went forth into the land of his fathers: and all the forces came together to him, so that there were (but) few men with Trypho. 11. And Antiochus the king pursued him, and he came in his flight to Dor which is by the sea. 12. For he knew that evils were gathered together against him, and that his forces had forsaken

[1] Moss in Hast., *D.B.* I, p. 105, s.v. Antiochus III.

[2] Swete III, pp. 657-9 (A-text).....The genuineness of the closing chapters of 1 Maccabees has been questioned by Destinon, Wellhausen, and others. For convincing arguments on the other side see Torrey in *Enc. Bib.*, III, 2863-5; *Ezra Studies*, pp. 148 ff.

him. 13. And Antiochus encamped against Dor and with him were 120,000 warriors and 8000 horse[1]. 14. And he surrounded the city, and the ships joined in the attack from the sea; and he worried the city by land and sea, and allowed no one to go out or in."

(Vv. 15-24 record the return of Numenius and the embassy which Simon had sent to Rome.)

25. "But Antiochus the King encamped against Dor on the second (day)[2], continually bringing his forces up to it, and making engines of war, and he shut up Trypho so that he could neither go in nor go out. 26. And Simon sent him 2000 picked men to fight with him; and silver and gold and many implements.

27. And he would not receive them, but set at naught all the covenants he had made with him before, and was estranged from him."

(The king sends to Simon to demand a tribute of 500 silver talents, and is enraged when this is refused: vv. 28-36.)

37. "But Trypho embarked on a ship and fled to Orthosia."

(Vv. 38, 39 a b: The king commands Cendebaeus to attack the Jews.)

39c. "But the king pursued Trypho."

Josephus' account (*Ant.* XIII, 7: 2) differs in several particulars from that contained in 1 Maccabees[3].

γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῇ Σελευκείᾳ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αὐξανομένης ὥρμησε πολεμήσων τὸν Τρύφωνα, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἄνω Συρίας ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην, διώξας ἄχρι ταύτης, εἴς τε Δώραν φρούριόν τι δυσάλωτον ἐπολιόρκει συμφυγόντα. πέμπει δὲ καὶ πρὸς Σίμωνα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ προσδέχεται προθύμως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ χρήματά τε πολλὰ καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς τὴν Δώραν πολιορκοῦσι στρατιώταις, πέμψας πρὸς Ἀντίοχον, ἀφθόνως

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[1] The numbers are doubtless exaggerated.

[2] Fritzsche, I, p. 227; Kautzsch, I, p. 78; Fairweather, p. 252; Wace supplies *πολιορκίᾳ*, and translates "for the second time," or "in the second siege." It is better to consider this a redactional resumption of the narrative of the siege described in vv. 13, 14, which had been interrupted by the account of the return of the embassy in vv. 15-24.

[3] Text from ed. Naber. . . . The parallel passage in *B.J.*, I. 2:2 is much briefer, mentioning simply Simon's assistance during Antiochus' siege of Dor, and Antiochus' ingratitude afterward. Its source is the same as that of the passage in *Ant.*

ἐχορήγησεν, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτὸν πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν κριθῆναι φίλων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τρύφων ἐκ τῆς Δώρας φυγὼν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ διεφθάρη, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία.

"As Antiochus was now come to Seleucia, and his forces increased every day, he marched to fight Trypho; and having beaten him in the battle, he ejected him out of Upper Syria into Phenicia, and pursued him thither, and besieged him in Dora, which was a fortress hard to be taken, whither he had fled. He also sent ambassadors to Simon the Jewish high priest, about a league of friendship and mutual assistance: who readily accepted the invitation, and sent to Antiochus great sums of money and provisions, for those that besieged Dora, and thereby supplied them very plentifully, so that for a little while he was looked upon as one of his most intimate friends: but Trypho fled from Dora to Apamea, where he was taken during the siege, and put to death, when he had reigned three years[1]."

(In the following section Josephus relates that afterward Antiochus forgot the assistance Simon had rendered, and sent Cendebeus to ravage Judea and seize Simon. Simon was able, however, to defeat the forces sent against him.)

According to Josephus, then, the armies of Trypho and Antiochus Sidetes first fought a pitched battle in Upper Syria in which Antiochus was victorious. Trypho then fled to Dor and was besieged there. Contrary to the representation in 1 Maccabees (where Sidetes refuses to accept Simon's voluntarily proffered gifts and assistance), Josephus relates that the Syrian king requested and gladly received from Simon both money and provisions. Instead of following 1 Maccabees in making Orthosia Trypho's destination, Josephus names Apamea. He also adds the statement that at Apamea Trypho was taken in a siege and put to death. Still another statement of Trypho's destination is given by Charax[2], who says he fled to "Ptolemais, called Ake;" as follows:

καὶ Χάραξ ἱά "Τρύφων ἐν Δώρῳ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας πόλει πολιορκούμενος ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου ἔφυγεν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν Ἄκην λεγομένην."

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[1] Following in general Margoliouth's revision of Whiston's translation.

[2] *Steph. Byz.* (ed. Meineke, p. 254), s.v. Δῶρος; also in Müller, *Frag. hist. graec.* III, 644 n. 40. Cp. Fritzsche, I, 229. Charax probably lived during the reign of Hadrian and the Antonines.

"And Charax (in book) 11, 'Trypho, being besieged in Dor, a city of Coele-Syria by Antiochus, fled to Ptolemais, called Ake.'"

The attempt to harmonize these variant accounts by making Trypho go first to Ptolemais, then to Orthosia and finally to Apamea[1], is neither reasonable nor convincing. Evidently there were in existence several differing and conflicting accounts of what became of Trypho. Schürer[2] holds that Josephus used 1 Maccabees as his main source here, but that he freely changed some of the details from some Greek writer, probably Polybius. Hölscher[3] classes this passage with the other "Syriaca" and assigns them all to Strabo, who, he alleges, in turn found his material in Polybius and Posidonius. Destinon[4] believes that Josephus' source for this passage was a writer who had already composed a narrative out of 1 Maccabees and some Greek writer. Inasmuch as the closing chapters of 1 Maccabees as they now stand seem to be original[5], it is probable that Josephus worked over the material contained in them with the aid of material from some Greek historian. In any case, whatever the process of fusion and relation of documents in these passages may have been, it is the clear testimony of our sources that Trypho was actually besieged in Dor by Antiochus Sidetes and that he somehow escaped from that city.

ANTIQUITIES XIII, 12:2, 4.

Soon after the beginning of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (104-78 B.C.), Dor is mentioned by Josephus in connection with Alexander's plan of bringing the coast cities under his sway. Dor and Strato's Tower (Caesarea) were held at this time by a tyrant named Zoilus[6]. When Alexander started his campaign by besieg-

[1] Fritzsche, I, 229; Wace, II, 527; Schürer, *G.J.V.* I, 253.

[2] Hauck-Herzog, *Enzyk.*, s.v. Josephus.

[3] *Die Quellen des Josephus.*

[4] Margoliouth (*Revision of Whiston's Josephus*), Introd., p. XVII.

[5] See note above, p. 66.

[6] Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'Archéologie orientale*, V, 1903, pp. 285-8) gives an epitaph from a stone found at Dor dating from the year 169-170 A. D., which gives a feminine form, Zoila. The inscription reads: *Ζωιλα ἐνθαδε κειται ἐτων τριακοντα φιλανδρος. Γλσ΄ Ἀπελλαιου κς. θαρσει.* "Here lies Zoila (aged) thirty years, loving her husband. Year 233, the 26th (of the month) Apellaeos. Courage!" It is interesting to note that this name persisted in Dor into the second century A.D. Cler-Gan. suggests that the tyrant Zoilus may have introduced the name into the Onomasticon of the place.

ing Ptolemais, Zoilus assisted that city. Forced by the weakness of the rival Syrian kings (Antiochus VIII [Philometer][1], and Antiochus Cyzicenus) to look abroad for further assistance, the inhabitants of Ptolemais sent to Ptolemy Lathyrus, who had shortly before fled from Cleopatra, his mother, from Egypt to Cyprus. The ambassadors from Ptolemais promised the Egyptian that Zoilus would unite with them in loyalty to him (Jos., *Ant.* XIII, 12:2).

The fickle inhabitants of Ptolemais, however, refused to receive Ptolemy when he arrived. But Zoilus and the people of Gaza came instead asking help against the Jews, who were ravaging their country. In fear of Ptolemy, Alexander thereupon abandoned the siege of Ptolemais. Craftily sending for Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, Alexander at the same time concluded a league of friendship with him, promising four hunded talents of silver if he would dispose of Zoilus and give his country to the Jews. Ptolemy gladly made a league with Alexander, and turned upon and subdued Zoilus[2]. Afterward, however, when he learned that Alexander had planned to betray him into Cleopatra's power, he broke his solemn covenant and started to lay waste Alexander's domain, besides starting a siege against Ptolemais (*Ant.* XIII, 12:3, 4). Just what disposition was finally made of Dor during these troublous times after Zoilus was "subdued" is not clear.

The passage (*Ant.* XIII, 12:2, 4) reads:

Καταστησάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὃν ᾤετο συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τρόπον στρατεύει ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδα, τῇ δὲ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐνέκλεισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ

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[1] In *Ant.* XIII, 9:3; 10:1; 13:4 he is called Antiochus Grypus. Hölscher (*Die Quellen des Josephus*, p. 39) shows that this variation is due to the use of different sources, probably by Strabo.

[2] In view of Ptolemy's repudiation of their agreement upon learning of Alexander's double-dealing, it may be doubted whether Dor was finally actually delivered to the Jews. At least Dor is omitted from the list (contained in *Ant.* XIII, 15:4) of cities subject to Alexander, although Strato's Tower (Caesarea), its neighbor on the south, is mentioned. On the other side must be adduced the evidence of *Ant.* XIV, 4:4 (parallel to *B.J.*, I, 7:7—see below), where Dor is included among the cities taken from the Jews and restored to freedom as part of the province of Syria. Josephus' notoriously uncritical use of his sources (as well as his personal bias) complicates exceedingly the problem of deciding what actually is or is not fact in any given case.

περικαθίσας αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Πτολεμαὶς αὐτῷ καὶ Γάζα μόναι χειρωθῆναι ὑπελείποντο, καὶ Ζώιλος δὲ ὁ κατασχὼν τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον τύραννος καὶ Δῶρα. τοῦ δὲ Φιλομήτορος Ἀντιόχου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, πολεμούντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀπολλύντων ἦν οὐδεμία τοῖς Πτολεμαεῦσιν βοήθεια παρ' αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ ποιουμένοις τῇ πολιορκίᾳ Ζώιλος ὁ τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον κατεσχηκὼς [παρῆν] καὶ τὰ Δῶρα σύνταγμα τρέφων στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄμιλλαν μικρὰ τοῖς Πτολεμαιεῦσι παρεβοήθει· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὕτως εἶχον οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστ' ἐλπίσαι τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν. ἑκάτεροι γὰρ ταὐτὸν τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἔπασχον, οἳ τῇ δυνάμει μὲν ἀπηγορευκότες αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ παραχωρῆσαι διετέλουν ἀργίᾳ καὶ ἀναπαύσει διαφέροντες τὸν ἀγῶνα. λοιπὴ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς ἦν ἡ παρὰ τῶν Αιγύπτου βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ Κύπρον ἔχοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου, ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν εἰς Κύπρον παρεγένετο. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τοῦτον οἱ Πτολεμαιεῖς παρεκάλουν ἐλθόντα σύμμαχον ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου χειρῶν αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι κινδυνεύοντας. ἐπελπισάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς διαβὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἕξει Γαζαίους συνεστῶτας μετὰ τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ Ζώιλον, ἔτι γε μὴν Σιδωνίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι λεγόντων, ἐπαρθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔσπευδεν.

(Then follows in 12:3 the account of a change of heart on the part of the inhabitants of Ptolemais and their decision to have nothing to do with Ptolemy. Although he learned of this, Ptolemy came straight on and pitched camp near the city. But when the people would have nothing to do with him, he was at a loss what to do.)

XIII, 12:4. ἐλθόντων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζωίλου τε καὶ τῶν Γαζαίων, καὶ δεομένων συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς πορθουμένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, λύει μὲν πολιορκίαν δείσας τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστρατήγει τὸ λοιπόν, λάθρᾳ μὲν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μεταπεμπόμενος, φανερῶς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενος· καὶ τετρακόσια δ' ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων αἰτῶν Ζώιλον ἐκ ποδὸς ποιήσασθαι τὸν τύραννον καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσνεῖμαι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἡδέως τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ποιησάμενος φιλίαν χειροῦται τὸν Ζώιλον, ὕστερον δ' ἀκούσας λάθρᾳ διαπεμπόμενον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν, λύει τοὺς γεγενημένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρκους, καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα μὴ δεξαμένην αὐτόν . . . .

XIII, 12:2 "When he (i. e., Alexander Jannaeus) had arranged the government in the way he considered most advantageous for

himself, he made an expedition against Ptolemais; and having conquered in a battle he shut up the men in the city, and sat round about them and began a siege. For, of the cities on the coast, there alone remained to be conquered by him Ptolemais and Gaza, besides the tyrant Zoilus who held Strato's Tower and Dor. Now inasmuch as Antiochus Philometer and his brother Antiochus, who was called Cyzicenus, were waging war against one another and destroying one another's armies, the people of Ptolemais could get no aid from them. But when they were in distress on account of the siege Zoilus, who possessed Strato's Tower and Dor and maintained a body of soldiers, and acted as tyrant because of the contest between the kings, came and brought a little help to the people of Ptolemais. Nor indeed were the kings so friendly disposed toward them that they could hope for any succour from them. For both were in the same predicament as wrestlers who, though they have become deficient in strength, are yet ashamed to yield, and so continue lazily and prolong the contest by resting. Their sole remaining hope was in the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus who was holding Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus after being cast out from his rule by his mother Cleopatra. The people of Ptolemais therefore sent to this man and besought him to deliver them, endangered as they were, out of the hands of Alexander. And since the ambassadors held forth hopes to him that when once he had crossed over into Syria he would have the people of Gaza joining with those of Ptolemais; and as they also said that Zoilus and the Sidonians besides and many others would assist him; he was elated and hurried the preparations for sailing."

(The people of Ptolemais decide not to receive Ptolemy. He is greatly concerned.)

12:4. "But when both Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him and desired that he would be their ally because their country was laid waste by the Jews and by Alexander—Alexander, being afraid of Ptolemy, raised the siege. And having led away his army into his own country, he used strategy afterward, by secretly summoning Cleopatra to come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending friendship and a real alliance with him. And he agreed to give four hundred talents of silver, desiring in return that he should put Zoilus the tyrant out of the way and allot his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy gladly made this league of

friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus; but when he afterward heard that he had secretly sent to his mother Cleopatra, he broke the oaths he had made to him, and attacked and besieged Ptolemais because it refused to receive him."

Strabo is most probably Josephus' source of information in this section. In XIII, 12:6 Josephus expressly cites Strabo and Nicolaus (of Damascus) as his sources. A comparison of XIII, 10:4 indicates that, of these two, Strabo was more probably the author of the section XIII, 12:6 (and so of 12:2–4), concerned as they both are with Ptolemy[1]. In fact, the so-called "Syriaca" would all seem to belong to this writer[2]. Destinon[3], however, holds that the direct use of Strabo and other sources by Josephus was limited to the passages where the name of the source is expressly cited. In other instances he leaves open the possibility that the anonymous historian he supposes Josephus used as source may have utilized these authors. It appears quite probable therefore, that Strabo was really the source of the sections under discussion.

ANTIQUITIES XIII, 15:4.

Dor is not included by Josephus in his catalogue of Syrian, Idumean and Phoenician cities held by Alexander Jannaeus toward the close of his career (*Ant.* XIII, 15:4). The list begins with Στράτωνος πύργον. just south of Dor, and follows the coast toward the south. As we have seen above, it is questionable whether the Jews ever exercised any real control over Dor. This in spite of the fact that Josephus further on in this same passage includes Καρμήλιον ὄρος ("Mount Carmel") and ἄλλας τε πόλεις προτενούσας τῆς Συρίας ἦσαν κατεστραμμένοι ("other prominent cities of Syria which had been destroyed"). It would be unsafe to include Dor in the list on the basis of such uncertain generalizations by Josephus. It has already been suggested that there is no clear statement in Ant. XIII, 12:2, 4 to the effect that Dor was ever

[1] Timagenes (quoted in 12:5) was probably one of Strabo's sources, known to Josephus only through the latter.

[2] Hölscher, *Die Quellen des Josephus*, pp. 15, 39; Schürer in Hauck-Herzog, s.v. Josephus. Hölscher maintains (p. 40) that Polybius and Posidonius are in turn Strabo's sources. For the period after 143 B.C. (and therefore for the time of this passage) Hölscher believes Posidonius is the original source.

[3] *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, pp. 57 ff.

turned over to Alexander. We must therefore disagree with Schürer[1] in his statement "aber auch Dora *muss* zum Gebiet Alexanders gehört haben[2]." All we can say is that there is a possibility that it was subject to him for a time.

ANT. XIV. 4:4 AND B.J., I, 7:7.

After his capture of Jerusalem in 63 B.C., Pompey, according to Josephus, proceeded to take from the Jews many of the cities that were at that time recognized as part of their realm. He thereby greatly reduced the extent of Jewish territory. Dor is included by Josephus among the cities restored to their own inhabitants and incorporated within the Roman province of Syria. From Pompey's time Dor seems, therefore, to have been directly under Roman rule. Josephus gives two accounts of these changes, one in Ant. XIV, 4:4 and a second in B.J. I, 7:7:

καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑποτελῆ φόρον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἃς δὲ πρότερον οἱ ἔνοικοι πόλεις ἐχειρώσαντο τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφελόμενος ὑπὸ τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατηγῷ ἔταξεν καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος ἐπὶ μέγα πρότερον αἰρόμενον ἐντὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων συνέστειλεν. καὶ Γάδαρα μὲν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν καταστραφεῖσαν ἀνέκτισεν Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος τῷ Γαδαρεῖ ἀπελευθέρῳ αὐτοῦ· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς Ἵππον καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι τε Μάρισαν καὶ Αζωτον καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ χωρὶς τῶν κατεσκαμμένων, Γάζαν δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Δῶρα καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον, ἣ κτίσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ λιμέσιν τε καὶ ναοῖς κοσμήσαντος, Καισάρεια μετωνομάσθη πάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρας καὶ προσένειμεν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ.

"And he made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took away the cities of Coelesyria which the inhabitants (of Judaea) had in former times subdued, and he put them under their own praetor and confined the whole nation which had before so greatly elevated itself, within its own borders. And he rebuilt Gadara, which had shortly before been demolished, to gratify Demetrius of Gadara, his freedman. And the rest of the cities, Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella, Dios, and Samaria, as well as Marissa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethusa, he restored to their inhabitants: and these were in the

[1] *G.J.V.* I, 285.

[2] Schürer's further statement (*l.c.*) that Zoilus was subdued by Alexander is not accurate. According to the record it was Ptolemy Lathyrus who subdued Zoilus.

interior; as well as those that had been demolished. And also on the sea-coast, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dor, and Strato's Tower; this last Herod rebuilt in glorious fashion and adorned it with havens and temples, and changed its name to Caesarea. All these Pompey left free and joined to the prefecture."

B. J. I, 7:7.

Ἀφελόμενος δὲ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὰς ἐν κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ πόλεις, ἃς εἶλον, ὑπέταξεν τῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνο Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ [κατατεταγμένῳ] καὶ μόνοις αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις ὅροις περιέκλεισεν. ἀνακτίζει δὲ καὶ Γάδαρα ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεστραμμένην Γαδαρεῖ τινὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπελευθέρων Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος. ἠλευθέρωσεν δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ πόλεις, ὅσας μὴ φθάσαντες κατέσκαψαν, Ἵππον Σκυθόπολίν τε καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Μάρισαν Ἄζωτόν τε καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς παραλίους Γάζαν Ἰόπην Δῶρα καὶ τὴν πάλαι Στράτωνος πύργον καλουμένην, ὕστερον δὲ μετακτισθεῖσάν τε ὑφ' Ἡρώδου βασιλέως λαμπροτάτοις κατασκενάσμασιν καὶ μετονομασθεῖσαν Καισάρειαν. ἃς πάσας τοῖς γνησίοις ἀποδοὺς πολίταις κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν Συριακὴν ἐπαρχίαν. παραδοὺς δὲ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρις Αἰγύπτου καὶ Εὐφράτου Σκαύρῳ διέπειν . . . .

"He also took away from the nation those cities in Coelesyria which they had taken, and made them subject to him that had been appointed Roman praetor there, and shut them in to their own proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara, that had been demolished by the Jews, to gratify a certain Demetrius of Gadara, who was one of his own freedmen. He also freed from their domination cities that lay in the interior, such as they had not previously demolished, Hippos, and Scythopolis, besides Pella, and Samaria, and Jamnia, and Marissa, as well as Azotus and Arethusa; in like manner dealt he with the maritime cities, Gaza, Joppa, Dor, and that which was anciently called Strato's Tower, but was afterward rebuilt with most magnificent edifices by Herod the King, and its name changed to Caesarea. All of these he delivered over to their true citizens and put them under the province of Syria. And he committed this province, together with Judea and the countries as far as Egypt and the Euphrates to Scaurus to govern . . . ."

The omission of Dios in Bellum Judaicum I, 7:7 above is probably due to an error in copying[1]. It seems fairly well agreed that

[1] Destinon, *Die Quellen des Fl. Jos.*, p. 14; Hölscher, *Die Quellen des Jos.*, p. 20.

Nicolaus of Damascus is Josephus' principal source in both these passages[1]. Destinon (pp. 17 ff.) accounts for the difference (cp. the addition of the name "Scaurus" in *B.J.*) on the theory that while Josephus used Nicolaus as his source in both the Antiquities and the Jewish War, he excerpted the two histories independently, using or omitting each time such material as he chose. Hölscher is inclined to find in the variations in the two accounts evidence of the use by Josephus of an additional source.

As has already been suggested, the inclusion in this passage of Dor among the cities subject to the Jews is open to question. In the troublous days of party dissension that followed the death of the ambitious invader, Alexander Jannaeus, it is hardly probable that the nation could have kept control of its outlying dependencies[2]. In the absence of definite corroboration of the details of Josephus' account, we must hold in suspense a decision in regard to Dor's relations to Judaea at the time of Pompey's arrival. But we have no reason to doubt that Dor was made by him a so-called "free" city[3]. The coins of the city establish this fact beyond any possibility of a doubt[4].

ANTIQUITIES XIV, 5:3 AND BELLUM JUDAICUM I, 8:4.

In Ant. XIV, 5:3 all the manuscripts except Pal. include Δῶρα among the cities restored by Gabinius, the proconsul, in 57 B. C. The parallel passage in B.J. I, 8:4 has Δώρεος in most manuscripts; but two good manuscripts read Ἀδώρεος. The correct reading is undoubtedly Ἄδωρα (or Ἀδώρεος). The fact that it is mentioned along with Marisa points to the Idumean city Adora as the one here referred to. Niese is therefore correct in reading Ἄδωρα in the passage in Antiquities. How easily the change from Dora to Adora can take place is illustrated by the passage Ant. XIII, 6:5, where all the manuscripts read Δῶρα πόλιν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, yet where, as a comparison of 1 Macc. 13:20 proves, Ἄδωρα is clearly meant[5].

[1] So Destinon, Hölscher, Schürer, Margoliouth.

[2] It has been suggested above that we are none too certain that Dor was ever taken in possession by the Jews.

[3] These "free" cities were, of course, subject to military duties under Rome. Cp. Schürer, *G.J.V.* II, 105.

[4] Hill, *Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, p. 117.

[5] Schürer, *G.J.V.* II. 7; Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 738–741; cp. also *Contra Ap.* II, 9 below.—Perhaps the similarity in uncial script between Δ and Α may have had something to do with the miswriting of Ἄδωρα.

In view of the fact that Dor is not included in this corrected list, the statement of Cook (in *Enc. Bib.*, s.v. Dor) to the effect that "Gabinius restored the town and harbor (56 B. C.)" must be corrected. Similarly, Guérin's declaration (in *Samarie* 2:312 f.) to the same effect is incorrect.

ANTIQUITIES XV, 4:1 AND BELLUM JUDAICUM I, 18:5.

Cleopatra's attempt to persuade Antony to deprive Herod the Great of his kingdom and to turn all Judea over to her was rendered ineffectual through Herod's presents and skillful address (*Ant.* XIII, 38). Antony did, however, bestow upon her some of Herod's territory about Jericho; in addition to this he gave her all the (coast) cities south of the Eleutherus river, except Tyre and Sidon. Dor would be included in this gift. The date of this cession was c. 34 B. C. With the defeat of Antony at Actium (31 B. C.), if not before, Cleopatra's possession of these tributary cities of course ceased. Augustus was shortly won over by the generous hospitality Herod accorded him and his army on their march through Syria. Arrived in Egypt, he restored to Herod the part of his realms taken by Cleopatra, adding thereto among others the coast cities Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower. Dor is not included here, and we have no reason to believe that Herod's realm ever extended farther north on the coast than Caesarea.

The account of the gift of the coast cities by Antony to Cleopatra is thus recorded in Ant. XV, 4:1 (end):

δίδωσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πόλεις ἄχρις Αἰγύπτου χωρὶς Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, ἐκ προγόνων εἰδὼς ἐλευθέρας, πολλὰ λιπαρούσης αὐτῆς αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.

"Thus he gave her the cities that were this side of the river Eleutherus as far as Egypt; he made exception however of Tyre and Sidon (for he knew they had been free cities from the time of their ancestors), although she frequently begged that these might also be given her."

The parallel account in B.J. I, 18:5 reads:

πολλὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι φοινικῶνα ἐν ᾧ γεννᾶται τὸ βάλσαμον, δίδωσιν αὐτῇ πόλεις τε πλὴν Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πάσας.

"He also cut off a great deal of their country; nay, even the palm plantation at Jericho, where the balsam grows, and gave

them to her; as well as all the cities this side of the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon excepted."

Plutarch[1] includes in this gift to Cleopatra, Phoenicia, Coelesyria, Cyprus, a large part of Cilicia, the part of Judea that bears the balsam, and the part of Nabatean Arabia toward the Mediterranean.

Both passages from Josephus above are to be attributed to Nicolaus of Damascus as their source[2]. In the Antiquities (XV, 4:2, 4) Josephus does not state, but distinctly implies that the Jericho region (as in the account in *B.J.*) was given to Cleopatra, from whom Herod was obliged to rent it. In these parallel narratives, as elsewhere, Josephus is very free in his adaptation of his sources.

If, as seems probable, Dor is to be numbered among the coast cities in this account, we gain the information that Dor was, for a short time after 34 B. C., at least nominally tributary to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt.

ANTIQUITIES XV, 9:6 AND BELLUM JUDAICUM I, 21:5.

In connection with his account of the building of Caesarea by Herod the Great, Josephus mentions Joppa and Dor. These latter are described as smaller maritime cities, unfit for harbors because of the prevalence of violent winds from the south. As a consequence merchants are obliged to anchor their ships in the sea opposite them. According to Josephus it was for the purpose of providing a safe anchorage on this inhospitable shore between Dor and Joppa that Herod established the port of Caesarea. The account in the Antiquities (XV, 9:6) reads as follows:

κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις (i. e., Caesarea) *ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ κατὰ τὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παράπλουν Ἰόππης μεταξὺ καὶ Δώρων, πολισμάτια ταῦτ' ἐστὶν παράλια δύσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς, αἳ ἀεὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θίνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἠόνα σύρουσαι καταγωγὴν οὐ διδόασιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον ἀποσαλεύειν τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐπ' ἀγκύρας.*

"This city (i. e. Caesarea) is situated in Phoenicia, on the passage by sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dor, which are rather small maritime cities and unfit for havens, because of the violent

[1] *Ant.* 36. See ed. Dochner, II, *Vitae* 2, p. 1111.

[2] So Hölscher, p. 25: Destinon, p. 120.

south winds which, constantly rolling the sands that come from the sea upon the shores, do not permit ships to lie at their station; but generally the merchants are obliged to lie at anchor in the sea itself."

The parallel passage is found in B.J. I, 21:5:

μεταξὺ γὰρ Δώρων καὶ Ἰόπης, ὧν ἡ πόλις μέση κεῖται, πᾶσαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν τὴν παράλιον ἀλίμενον, ὡς πάντα τὸν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου παραπλέοντα σαλεύειν ἐν πελάγει διὰ τὴν ἐκ λιβὸς ἀπειλήν, ᾧ καὶ μετρίως ἐπαυρίζοντι τηλικοῦτον ἐπεγείρεται κῦμα πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις, ὥστε τὴν ὑποστροφὴν τοῦ κύματος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξαγριοῦν τὴν θάλασσαν.

"For it happened that all the coast between Dor and Joppa (between which the city lies) was harborless, so that every ship that sailed from Phoenicia to Egypt was obliged to lie in the sea on account of the threatening south wind; if this wind blow but a little fresh, such waves are raised and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat the sea rages for a long time."

It is worthy of notice that Caesarea is here (*Ant.* XV, 9:6) referred to as a city of Phoenicia. The fact that Caesarea is called Phoenician[1], and the additional fact that Greek geographers[2] make Dor a city of that same country, would tend to strengthen our doubt concerning any subjugation of Dor by the Jews. Evidently, too, the harbor at Dor was a very poor one. It was not until a much later period that the double harbor[3] was built. The building by Herod of good harbors at Caesarea, thus giving that city a great advantage as a port and gate to the surrounding country, doubtless contributed to the decline of neighboring Dor.

Nicolaus of Damascus is generally conceded to be Josephus' source for the material[4] here. As usual Josephus has made independent use of Nicolaus' material in his Antiquities and Bellum Judaicum, so that the accounts are by no means identical. The narratives agree, however, in picturing Dor as a city without good facilities as a seaport, although evidently not without some trading activity.

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[1] For fuller discussion of the word Phoenicia, see on *Contra Ap.* II, 9, below.

[2] E. g., Claudius Iolaus in *Steph. Byz.*

[3] See chapter on Topography.

[4] Destinon, p. 120; Hölscher, p. 26.

ANTIQUITIES XIX, 6:3, 4a[a].

Toward the beginning of the reign of Agrippa I (41–44 A. D.) we learn of the existence of a Jewish synagogue in Dor. A mob of young men carried a statue of Caesar into this synagogue and set it up there. Agrippa had of course no authority in Dor, which had remained under the rule of the Roman governor of Syria. Accordingly, he complained to Publius Petronius, who was then at the head of affairs in the province of Syria[1]. According to Josephus' story, Petronius thereupon wrote a letter to the magistrates of Dor, reminding them of the liberties granted to the Jews by Claudius, and commanding them to discover and punish those guilty of this act of impiety. This letter, together with the record of the incident, is contained in Ant. XIX, 6:3, 4a[a]:

παντάπασιν δὲ ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος Δωρῖται νεανίσκοι τῆς ὁσιότητος προτιθέμενοι τόλμαν καὶ πεφυκότες εἶναι παραβόλως θρασεῖς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν ἀνέστησαν. σφόδρα τοῦτο Ἀγρίππαν παρώξυνεν· κατάλυσιν γὰρ τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῦ νόμων ἐδύνατο. ἀμελλητὶ δὲ πρὸς Πούπλιον Πετρώνιον, ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς Συρίας οὗτος ἦν, παραγίνεται καὶ καταλέγει τῶν Δωριτῶν. ὁ δ' οὐχ ἧττον ἐπὶ τῷ πραχθέντι χαλεπήνας, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἀσέβειαν τὴν τῶν ἐννόμων παράβασιν, τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν Δωριτῶν σὺν ὀργῇ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν. „Πούπλιος Πετρώνιος πρεσβευτὴς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δωριέων τοῖς πρώτοις λέγει. ἐπειδὴ τοσαύτῃ τόλμῃ ἀπονοίας τινὲς ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδὲ διὰ τὸ προτεθῆναι διάταγμα Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐφίεσθαι Ἰουδαίους φυλάσσειν τὰ πάτρια πεισθῆναι ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, τἀναντία δὲ πάντα πρᾶξαι, συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων κωλύοντας εἶναι διὰ τὸ μεταθεῖναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα, παρανομοῦντας οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ ὁ ἀνδριὰς βέλτιον ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ ἢ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐτίθετο καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τῆς συναγωγῆς τόπῳ, τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἰδίων τόπων κυριεύειν κατὰ τὸ Καίσαρος ἐπίκριμα· τοῦ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐπικρίματος μιμνήσκεσθαι γελοῖόν ἐστιν μετὰ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι. ἔτι μέντοι γε καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν κεκελευκότος· τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τὸ διάταγμα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τοιαῦτα τετολμηκότας, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγανάκτησαν οἱ δοκοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐξέχειν οὐ τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντες ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὁρμῇ, ὑπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου Πρόκλου Οὐιτελλίου ἐκέλευσα ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἀναχθῆναι τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ἀποδώσοντας, τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις ἄρχουσι παραινῶ, εἰ μὴ βούλονται δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἀδίκημα, ἐπι-

[1] P. Petronius was governor 39–42 A. D. (Riggs, *Hist. of the Jewish People*, see Chart.)

δεῖξαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ μηδεμιᾶς στάσεως μηδὲ μάχης ἐῶντας ἀφορμὴν γενέσθαι, ἥνπερ δοκοῦσίν μοι θηρεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, κἀμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου μοι βασιλέως Ἀγρίππου οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον προνοουμένων, ἢ ἵνα μὴ ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενοι τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμύνης προφάσει συναθροισθὲν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν χωρῇ· ἵνα δὲ γνωριμώτερον ᾖ, τί καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς περὶ ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος ἐφρόνησε, τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτοῦ διατάγματα προτεθέντα προσέθηκα, ἅπερ εἰ καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ τότε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέγνω ὁ τιμιώτατός μοι βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δικαιολογησάμενος περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ δωρεᾶς. εἵς τε οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν παραγγέλλω μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν στάσεως μηδὲ ταραχῆς ζητεῖν, ἀλλ' ἑκάστους τὰ ἴδια ἔθη θρησκεύειν." *Πετρώνιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω προυνόησε διορθώσεως μὲν τὸ παρανομηθὲν ἤδη τυχεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ παραπλήσιον μηδὲν εἰς αὐτούς.*

"But after a very little while the young men of Dor, preferring daring to piety and being by nature boldly insolent, carried a statue of Caesar into a synagogue of the Jews[1] and set it up. This act provoked Agrippa exceedingly; for it tended toward the dissolution of the laws of his nation. He therefore at once came before Publius Petronius, who was then at the head of Syria, and accused the people of Dor. Nor did he less resent what had been done (than did Agrippa). For he judged it an act of impiety to transgress against lawful customs. So he angrily wrote the following to the rulers of Dor: 'Publius Petronius, president under Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of the inhabitants of Dor, says: Since some of you have displayed such bold madness, after the edict of Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was issued, for permitting the Jews to observe their country's customs, not to obey the same; but have done everything contrary to it, in preventing the Jews from assembling in their synagogue by removing Caesar's statue and setting it up therein, and have committed an outrage not only against the Jews but also against the Emperor himself, whose statue was more fitly placed in his own temple than in a foreign one (and this is in a place of assembly); whereas it is but natural justice that every one should have rule over the places that belong peculiarly to them, in accordance with the determination of Caesar; not to speak of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the Emperor's

[1] Cp. the command of Caligula to Petronius to set up his statue in the temple (*Ant.* XVIII, 8:2).

edict, which gives to Jews the right to observe their own customs, as well as commanding that they enjoy equal political privileges with the Greeks. I command, therefore, that those men who, contrary to the edict of Augustus, have dared do this thing (at which those very men who appear to be most prominent among them are indignant also, and allege for themselves that it was not done with their consent but by the violence of the multitude), be brought before me by the centurion, Proculus Vitellius, that they may give account of the things done. Furthermore, I urge the principal magistrates, unless they wish to have it seem that this misdeed was done with their consent, to point out to the centurion those that are to blame, so as to furnish no occasion for any sort of uprising or quarrel to arise; which they seem to me to hunt after who are concerned in such doings; while both I myself and King Agrippa, for whom I have the sincerest respect, have nothing more under our care, than that the Jewish nation may not find an occasion of getting together under the pretext of avenging themselves, and become uncontrollable. And that it may be better known what Augustus also has resolved about the whole matter, I have subjoined the edicts he lately published in Alexandria[1], which, although they may be well known to all, yet did King Agrippa, for whom I have the sincerest respect, read them at that time before my tribunal, pleading that they ought not to be deprived of this gift which Augustus granted. For the time to come, therefore, I charge you to seek no occasion of any sort of sedition or disturbance, but that each one be allowed to observe his own religious customs.' 4. Thus, then, did Petronius provide that the breach of the law already committed should be corrected, and that no such thing should afterward happen to them (i. e., the Jews)."

Hölscher[2] ascribes this section of Josephus to a source which is concerned principally with the Herodian family, and which he therefore names the "Herodäergeschichte"[3]. The author of this source he describes as a pious Jew, but with broader views than those of the Pharisees. This Jew in turn had as his sources possibly Ptolemy of Ascalon, Cluvius Rufus, and state documents, in

[1] *Ant.* XIX, 5:2, 3.

[2] *Quellen des Josephus*, pp. 68, 79, 80.

[3] This source Hölscher finds traces of in *Ant.* XIV–XVII; *Ant.* XVIII–XX he derives practically entire from it.

addition to his own general information in regard to the events concerned. It is probable that Josephus dealt quite freely with his sources in this part of the Antiquities (as elsewhere) and that we ought to ascribe more to his free composition than Hölscher is inclined to do.

This edict of Petronius is probably the composition of some author used by Josephus as his source. Doubtless some such edict was promulgated, and the one given here is a fairly good representation of its general purport. Ancient historians felt free to compose such letters where they had no access to the original copies[1].

It is of interest to notice that in 42 A. D. there lived in Dor Jews sufficient in number to maintain a synagogue of their own. As in other cities in the Greek world they appear to have been none too popular with the citizens of the place. Agrippa I appears as the protagonist of the Jews in cities beyond his own realm. This he could do effectually because of the favor he had won with Claudius. Josephus does not give the sequel to his story; he has fulfilled his purpose in indicating the favorable attitude of the Romans toward the Jews, especially as this is illustrated in Agrippa's relations with the Roman governor and with the emperor.

CONTRA APIONEM II, 9.

Josephus (*Contra Apionem* II, 9) refers to a fable quoted by Apion from a Greek author whose name appears in manuscripts as Mnafeas[2]. This story relates how, while the Jews were at war with the Idumeans, a certain Zabidus came out of Dora, a city of Idumea. Zabidus promised to deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into the hands of the Jews, and to bring the god into the temple, if they would all depart thence. To this the Jews agreed. Thereupon Zabidus set three rows of lamps on a wooden frame, which he fastened about him. The Jews, when he passed by them at a distance, thought they beheld a walking star. In this way Zabidus gained entrance into the temple, and carried off to Dora the golden head of an ass that was there.

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[1] See the discussion of literary habits of ancient narrators in Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 148 ff.

[2] Niese conjectures Mnaseas, the pupil of Eratosthenes, c. 200 B. C. (Schür., *G.J.V.* II, 7).

In answer to this tale, Josephus says that Apion has loaded the ass (that is, himself) with a burden of ridiculous lies. The first of these lies is his statement that there is in Idumea a city named Dor:

καὶ γὰρ τόπους οὐκ ὄντας γράφει καὶ πόλεις οὐκ εἰδὼς μετατίθησιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαία τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας ἐστὶν ὅμορος, κατὰ Γάζαν κειμένη, καὶ Δῶρα ταύτης ἐστὶν οὐδεμία πόλις· τῆς μέντοι Φοινίκης παρὰ τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος Δῶρα πόλις ὀνομάζεται, μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦσα τοῖς Ἀπίωνος φλυαρήμασι· τεσσάρων γὰρ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἀφέστηκεν.

"For he writes of places that do not exist, and being unacquainted with cities he changes them about. For Idumea borders upon our country, and is near Gaza; in it there is no such city as Dor. There is, to be sure, a Phoenician city near Mount Carmel named Dor, which, however, has nothing to do with Apion's absurdities; for it is distant four days journey from Idumea."

Although Josephus so stoutly maintains that there is no such city as Dor in Idumea, it seems quite certain that Adora of Idumea is meant in this story. We have seen in Ant. XIV. 5:3 (parallel, *B.J.*, I, 8:4) that the initial A was easily dropped. This may have happened either through corruptions in texts or in popular speech. It seems that this town Adora is called Dura at the present time[1].

It would appear from the reference to it above that, at the time of the writing of the treatise Contra Apionem (i. e., c. 95 A. D.), Dor was known as a city, doubtless of some importance, in Phoenicia. What is here meant by "Phoenicia" is not an easy question to decide, especially as the meaning of the name seems to have varied at different periods. In some documents of the Greek period the term *Κόιλη Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη* ("Coele-Syria and Phoenicia") is used to designate the whole Syrian district "beyond (west of) the river (Euphrates)"[2]. The boundaries between Coele-Syria and Phoenicia evidently varied greatly. In the last century B. C. Coele-Syria seems to have been ordinarily applied only to the district between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon[3]. Hölscher[4] argues with considerable probability that the coast cities were organised by the Romans soon after Pompey's invasion into a separate official

[1] G.A.S., *Hist. Geog.*, map; Schür., *G.J.V.* II, 7.

[2] Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 83.—This term is used as the equivalent of the Biblical עבר הנהר.

[3] Hölscher, *Palästina*, p. 12; Torrey, *l. c.*

[4] *L. c.*, p. 98.

district, to which the name Phoenicia was usually applied. This may explain the frequent reference to Dor by later geographers as a "Phoenician" city. It must also be remembered that the Philistines seem to have been pushed to the south at an early period, and that the interests and connections of Dor from comparatively early times seem to have been with the coastland north of Mt. Carmel. This relationship probably even antedated the cession of Dor and Joppa to Eshmunazar by the Persian king[1]; certainly that inclusion of Dor within the domains of Sidon strengthened its Phoenician character. The list of cities subject to Tyre and Sidon contained in Scylax[2] indicates that the coast south of Carmel was in his time (c. 350 B.C.) essentially Phoenician.

VITA § 8.

When Josephus was sent by the leaders in Jerusalem to take charge of affairs in Galilee (66 A.D.), he found the people of Sepphoris in great trouble. Because of their friendly attitude toward the Romans and their league with Cestius Gallus, legate of Syria, the Galileans had resolved to plunder them. Josephus quieted the disturbance, and allowed the people of Sepphoris to communicate with their kindred who were hostages of Cestius Gallus[3]. The latter was at this time in Dor, having evidently come down from Antioch to quell the rebellion of the Jews (*Vita* § 8):

ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐγὼ παντὸς ἀπήλλαξα τοῦ φόβου πείσας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἐπιτρέψας ὅσα καὶ θέλουσι διαπέμπεσθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν Δώροις οἰκείους ὁμηρεύοντας Κεστίῳ. τὰ δὲ Δῶρα πόλις ἐστὶν τῆς Φοινίκης.

"But I delivered them out of all fear, and pacified the multitude in their behalf, and permitted them to send over whatever they wished, for their own relatives were hostages with Cestius at Dor. But Dor is a city of Phoenicia."

Whether Dor was perhaps at this time used by Cestius Gallus as a base of operations is not clear. In view of the fact that Caesarea, a few miles south of Dor, was used by the procurator of Judea as his capital city, it seems rather remarkable that the hostages were not sent there. It may be that the attack of the Jews upon

[1] See discussion of Eshmunazar inscription above.

[2] Müller, *Geog. Graeci Minores*, I, 79.

[3] But cp. *Vita* § 67, where Josephus storms this city when the inhabitants send to Cestius Gallus for aid.

Caesarea to avenge the slaughter of their countrymen there[1] had rendered it unsafe; and that Dor, lying farther to the north, with pronounced anti-Jewish proclivities[2] and not so easily accessible from Jewish territory, furnished temporarily safer shelter[3]. Dor is here once more reckoned as part of Phoenicia[4].

JOSEPHUS IN STEPHAN OF BYZANTIUM.

After referring to Hecataeus[5] as his authority for the statement that Dor was anciently called Δῶρος but more recently called Δῶρα, Stephan of Byzantium[6] proceeds to cite Josephus, who illustrates both usages:

καὶ οὕτως Ἰώσηπος αὐτὴν καλεῖ ἐν ε τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἱστορίας "ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰορδάνου μέχρι Δώρων πόλεως." καὶ πάλιν "Ἀζώτῳ καὶ Δώροις ὁριζόμενοι." καὶ ἐν ς "εἶναι τι γύναιον ἐν πόλει Δώρῳ." καὶ πάλιν "ὅτε ἤνεγκεν εἰς τὴν Δῶρον."

"And thus does Josephus refer to it in Book 5 of his Jewish History: 'From the Jordan to the city Dora.' And again: 'Bounded by Azotus and Dora.' And in Book 6: 'That there was a certain (little) woman in the city Doros.' And again: 'When he brought into Doros.' "

The first quotation given by Stephan above is from Ant. V, 1:22, where Josephus relates that the allotment of the half-tribe of Manasseh extended from the Jordan to the city Dor, with its breadth at Bethshan (Scythopolis). It has been shown above[7] that the whole matter of the original territories of the various tribes is so confused in the various Biblical accounts that nothing can be definitely determined concerning it. Probably the borders were not fixed in early times; certainly not at the time when the tribes were gradually taking possession of the land. Josephus' statement here is, consequently, of little value.

The second quotation above is likewise from Ant. V, 1:22, and describes the limits of the territory of the Danites. This account

[1] *B.J.* II, 18:1, 2.

[2] See *Ant.* XIX, 6:3, 4 above.

[3] It is always possible that Josephus' details are not accurate, although he ought to be well-informed in the present instance.

[4] See *Contra Ap.* II, 9 above.

[5] See p. 62.

[6] Ed. Meineke, 1849, p. 254.

[7] See p. 52.

also is of no particular historical value, especially in view of the fact that we see the Danites changing their location in the narrative contained in the Book of Judges. Both these quotations from Ant. V, 1:22 serve to illustrate the use of the plural form Δῶρα, which Stephan has just referred to (in the preceding quotation from Hecataeus) as the later form of Dor's name.

The third and fourth quotations from Josephus above are found in Ant. VI, 14:2. The passage deals with the visit of Saul to the witch of Endor, and has nothing whatever to do with Dor. The name should be read (with Naber) Ἔνδωρος[1]. These last two citations (i. e. from *Ant.* VI, 14:2) differ somewhat from our present text. The former reads[2] εἶναι τι γύναιον τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει Δώρῳ. Here τοιοῦτον has dropped out in some way. In the latter citation, the texts of Naber and Niese read: ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Δῶρον. The variations in Stephan may be due to his carelessness, or more probably to a different reading in the text he had before him. The fact that the MSS. differ in the word preceding ἦκεν (Naber writing ὄντας and Niese ἄνδρας) shows that text-corruption was present here. Stephan apparently has an inferior reading. These last two quotations serve to illustrate for Stephan the use of the form Δῶρος.

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[1] In his critical notes on the passage (vol. II, p. VIII) Naber remarks: "Steph. Byz. urbs appellatur Δῶρος et consentiunt R O; error est ex duarum urbium confusione." Niese (vol. 2, p. 63) retains the reading Δῶρος.

[2] Naber and Niese.

DOR IN THE TALMUD.

Once only is Dor mentioned in the Talmud. It occurs in a list of frontiers of Israel, dating probably from the time of John Hyrcanus (135–105 B. C.) and Alexander Jannaeus (104–78 B. C.)[1]. Neubauer[2] gives the various readings of the name (which occurs between Caesarea and Akko) as follows:

(a) Tal de Jér., Schebiith VI:1: דרור.
(b) Tosiftha, Schebiith, Ch. 3: ידור.
(c) Siphré, sect. Ekeb, à la fin: דור.
(d) Yalkout, sect. Ekeb, § 674: דירו.

The variations in the form of the name indicate that the texts here have become quite corrupt.

In the Jerusalem Talmud, ושינא precedes דרור. This Hildesheimer[3] reads with Dor and translates "die Klippe, die Höhe von Dor." Neubauer[4], on the contrary, maintains that שינא should be connected, as in the other redactions, with the preceding שר or שד and that the word should be read שרשינא (or שרשינא). In order that we may have the various readings of the preceding town (i. e., Caesarea) before us, I again quote from Neubauer's table opposite p. 11, No. 2:

(a) Tal. de Jér., Schebiith, VI:1: חימת מגדל שיד ושינא.
(b) Tos., Schebiith, Ch. 3: וחומר מגדל שרשונה (ושורא דקיסרא).
(c) Siphré, sect. Ekeb., à la fin: חומת מדבר שרשך.
(d) Yalkout, sect. Ekeb., § 674: חומת מגדל שרשן.

Here, too, there is evidently such great confusion in the readings, that absolute certainty as to the original text can hardly be reached.

Neubauer connects his שרשינא with the old name of Caesarea, Στράτωνος πύργος. This in turn he derives (with Renan) from the Phoenician עבד עשתרת.[5] But שרשינא seems very unlike both the Phoenician and its derived Greek form. We cannot, therefore, accept his explanation as the correct one.

[1] Hildesheimer, *Beiträge z. Geog. Pal.*, p. 10.
[2] *La Géographie du Talmud*, No. 3 on table opp. p. 11.
[3] *Beiträge*, p. 10.
[4] *La Géographie*, pp. 11, 15.
[5] Buhl (*Géog.*, p. 211) finds in the Greek name an original Astartyaton.

Hildesheimer[1] translates מגדל שיר of the Jerusalem Talmud as "Devils-Tower"[2], explaining it as a nickname for a town called after a worshipper of Astarte. Such a substitution of "devil" for the name of a heathen deity is quite in accord with Jewish usage, and may well be the true way of accounting for שיר here[3].

In connecting שינא with דרור (which he reads as דדור) and making the phrase equivalent to נָפַת דּוֹר, however, Hildesheimer probably errs. All the redactions except the Jerusalem Talmud connect these letters with the foregoing, and their evidence is worth something. It is true that שִׁנָּא, שֵׁן may be translated "die Klippe, die Höhe"[4]. But the word should probably be read with the foregoing, "wall of Devils-Tower"[5]. Because of the corrupt text some copyist seems to have made a mistake here in repeating שיר (or שידא); this in turn became שינא by the change of a single letter, ד to נ (cp. the confusion in the other three redactions). This שינא was later probably connected with the word מגדל, "tower" (which may have had some resemblance to a tooth), and allowed to stand. We find the word שִׁנּוֹתָא (also שִׁוֹנִיתָא), which likewise may be translated "Klippe" (notice its resemblance to שינא), used elsewhere in connection with Caesarea. Levy[6] quotes the phrase בשינותא דקיסרין "on the cliff of Caesarea" from Num. r. sect. 18, 236 d[7]. The explanatory gloss, וישורא דקיסרא ("Rock, or Cliff, of Caesarea"), in the second section from Tosiftha quoted above illustrates how a similar gloss וישנא ("Cliff") may have been allowed to stand in the Jerusalem Talmud. This reference to Dor as one of the border cities of Israel does not mean that the city was itself included within the nation. The territory of the nation extended simply *to* Dor or its environs.

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[1] P. 4; cp. G.A.S., in *Enc. Bib.* I, p. 617, s.v. Caesarea, § 1.

[2] I. e., שֵׁד, שִׁידָא, "demon."

[3] Caesarea is called in *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim* I, 5, a "city of abomination and blasphemy." (Neubauer, p. 96.)

[4] Levy, IV, 582–3; originally the word means "tooth," then a tooth-shaped rock or "cliff." So also Jastrow, *Tal. Dict.* II, p. 1603.

[5] Jastrow (II, p. 1603) however accepts Hildesheimer's arrangement and translation.

[6] IV, p. 547.

[7] Cp. also Levy, IV, p. 522.

THE COINS OF DOR.

The issuing of coins at Dor[1] does not seem to have begun until after the "liberation"[2] of the city by Pompey in 64–63 B. C. It is from this date that the city dates its era[3]. That the attribution to Dor of a coin issued by Trypho (who was imprisoned there 139–8 B. C.) was erroneous, has been demonstrated by Babelon[4]. On the basis of a duplicate of this coin and a more careful reading, he has shown that it should be read LA[5] ΔΣK, instead of ΔΩP.IE.K.A.[6].

The form of the ethnic on the coins is either ΔΩPITΩN or ΔΩPEITΩN[7]; one coin, owing to a dittography, has ΔΩPIPITΩN. The other forms of the name which have been recorded are the result of errors of reading or of transcription[8]. Under Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius we find the title ΔΩPιτῶν IEPὰ ACYΛος AYTONομος NAYAPXIC or merely ΔΩPA IEPA[9]. With these high-

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[1] Hill, *Cat'g. of Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, pp. LXXIV ff., 113–117; Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pp. CLXIX f., 205–7; de Saulcy, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 142–148; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 792.

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* XIV, 4:4; *B.J.* I. 7:7; see p. 74 above.

[3] Hill, p. LXXIV; Head, p. 792; Babelon, p. CLXX; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I, p. 459; de Saulcy, pp. 143 f., 405; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* III, pp. 362 ff.; Schür., *G.J.V.* II, p. 140. Kubitschek (*Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, XIII, 1890, p. 209) places the era between 63 and 59 B. C., and denies that Dor dated from Pompey. In his article "Aera" in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enz.* I, p. 649 f., however, Kubitschek is undecided as to the date.—On the basis of a doubtful reading, de Saulcy (p. 144) supposes that a single coin of Vespasian is dated according to the era of Gabinius. But in this he works on the mistaken presumption that Gabinius restored Dor (see above, p. 76). In like manner Kubitschek (*Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, XIII, 1890, p. 209) and Hill (p. LXXV) have failed to perceive that Adora in Idumea is the city meant in the passages Jos., *Ant.* XIV, 5:3; *B.J.* I. 8:4.

[4] *Rois de Syrie* (1890), pp. CXXXIX f., 137.

[5] The L before the date has usually been supposed to be an Egyptian character. It is more probably a fragmentary and specialized form of the E of ETOYΣ, (see Head, p. LXXXVII).

[6] Hill, *l. c.*

[7] These are, of course, equivalent forms.

[8] Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, p. CLXX; Hill, p. LXXV.

[9] Hill, *l. c.*: Head, p. 792.

sounding titles certain privileges were bound up. The title ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος in the Greek and Roman periods extended to whole cities the privilege of asylum which was originally confined to sanctuaries[1]. The significance of the term αὐτόνομος varies slightly at different periods. It is not the same as ἐλεύθερος. The "free" towns were almost entirely independent of Rome, while the "autonomous" cities were not far removed in organization from those directly subject to the Romans. The "autonomous" cities were required to pay taxes and to furnish auxiliary troops upon demand; while in the subject cities direct levies of troops were made by the Roman officials. The statement in Josephus (*Ant.* XIV, 4:4; cp. *B.J.* I, 7:7) that Pompey had made Dor and other cities ἐλευθέρας implies nothing as to their relations toward Rome[2]; the statement simply indicates that these cities were freed from Jewish domination[3]. The title ναναρχίς was conferred upon Sidon and Tripolis as well as upon Dor, doubtless because of their convenience as naval stations and because of their importance as the chief ports in their respective districts[4]. It would appear from this title that Dor had better harbor facilities in the second century of our era than the remains at present visible would indicate[5].

According to the tradition preserved by Claudius Iolaus[6] the eponymous founder of Dor was Doros, the son of Poseidon. It is probable that this hero is intended by the Poseidon-like deity represented on some of the coins[7]. On the other hand, this may easily be intended to represent Zeus[8]. Another type that frequently occurs is the turret-crowned Tyche of the city. Astarte

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[1] Schür., *G.J.V.* II, p. 105; Moore in *Enc. Bib.* I, pp. 377 f., s.v. Asylum; Head, p. LXXX.

[2] Schürer, *G.J.V.* II, pp. 104 f.

[3] On the whole question of the significance of the term *αὐτόνομος*, see Schür. II, pp. 104 ff.; Mommsen, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterthümer*, V. III, pt. I, 658 f. (Röm. Staatsrecht); Head, p. LXXX.

[4] Head, p. LXXX; Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, p. CLXX.

[5] Cp. the tradition related by Claudius Iolaus (see below p. 94) that Dor was provided with good harborage. . . . . At Tyre and Sidon, similarly, the ancient harbors seem to have been larger and better protected than the ones built later. See Baedeker (2) pp. 272 ff., 278 ff.

[6] *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Δῶρος; see pp. 94 ff.

[7] Hill, p. LXXIV; Head, p. 792.

[8] Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, pp. 205-7; Schür., *G.J.V.* II, p. 35.

on many of the coins holds a naval standard; this has also been called a mast with a sail or a vexillum[1].

The most complete and accurate treatment of the coins of Dor is that by G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Phoenicia*, pp. 113-118. Some forty-three coins from Dor are listed, all made of bronze. Two are dated in the year 1 (LA) i.e., 64-63 B.C. The attribution of these two coins to Dor is not absolutely certain, inasmuch as the name is abbreviated to the doubtful form ΔΩ. The fact that the coin next in date comes from a period one hundred and twenty-eight years later (64-5 A.D.) increases our suspicion regarding the correctness of the attribution of these coins to Dor. On the obverse of these two coins appears the head of Tyche, veiled and turreted. The reverse of the one presents Tyche standing, holding a cornucopia in the left hand, with the right hand resting on a tiller. The reverse of the other coin pictures an ear of barley upright.

From the imperial period coins are listed both with and without the heads of emperors. Those without the emperor's likeness date from 64-5 to 75-6 A.D. A frequent type of this class represents on the obverse the head of Doros bearded and laureate; on the reverse occurs the figure of Astarte with turreted crown, long chiton and peplos, moving left, head right, holding a standard and cornucopia in the right and left hands respectively. Another type of coin has on the obverse a bust of Tyche, turreted and veiled; on the reverse appears Astarte standing with standard and cornucopia. A variation of this type substitutes a galley for Astarte on the reverse side. Again we find a coin with Doros obverse and Tyche reverse.

The coins with heads of emperors date from the reign of Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) to that of Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.)[2]. Under Vespasian two coins are described, with the emperor's head obverse and a standing Tyche on the reverse. Three coins of Titus are given, similar to the one just mentioned, except that the head of Titus supplants that of Vespasian. Seven coins are listed under Trajan, all with his head laureate, drapery on neck and a star, on the obverse; the reverse differs, having three times the head of

[1] Hill, *l.c.*

[2] De Saulcy's description of coins of Geta and of Aquilia Severa await confirmation (Hill, p. LXXV).

Doros, once the bust of the Tyche of the city and three times a standing Astarte. The obverse and reverse of the three coins of Hadrian portray respectively the bust of Hadrian and the head of Doros. Similarly the three coins of Antoninus Pius have the bust of the emperor and the head of Doros. The one coin of Elagabalus pictures on the reverse a temple with six columns, with a female figure within[1].

Further finds of coins in the future will doubtless add new specimens to our collections, and will perhaps carry the history of the town under Rome somewhat farther.

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[1] This may be the representation of some temple within the city of Dor.

FROM CLAUDIUS IOLAUS TO HIEROCLES.

CLAUDIUS IOLAUS.

Claudius Iolaus, whose name would seem to indicate that he was of Roman origin[1], is quoted by Stephan of Byzantium under Δῶρος. He wrote after the rebuilding of Caesarea[2] by Herod and probably belongs to the first century A. D.[3]. His work on Phoenicia seems to have been a collection of historical and pseudo-historical notices. Of Dor he writes[4]:

καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἰούλιος ἐν γ΄ Φοινικικῶν "μετὰ Καισάρειαν Δῶρα κεῖται βραχεῖα πολίχνη, Φοινίκων αὐτὴν οἰκούντων, οἳ διὰ τὸ ὑπόπετρον τῶν τε αἰγιαλῶν καὶ τὸ πορφύρας γόνιμον συνέλθοντες, καλιὰς αὐτοῖς ᾠκοδομήσαντο καὶ περιβαλόμενοι χάρακας, ὡς ὑπήκουεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐργασίας, τεμνόμενοι τὰς πέτρας, διὰ τῶν ἐξαιρουμένων λίθων τὰ τείχη κατεβάλοντο, καὶ τὴν εὔορμον χηλὴν ὅπως [οἷόν] τε ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο, ἐπώνυμον αὐτὴν τῇ πατριῷ γλώσσῃ Δῶρ καλοῦντες. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, χάριν τοῦ τῆς φωνῆς εὐπροφόρου, καλεῖν ἀρκοῦντα (l. ἀρκοῦνται) Δῶρα τὴν πόλιν. καί τινες ἱστοροῦσι Δῶρον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκιστὴν αὐτῆς γεγονέναι."

"And Claudius Iolaus in (Book) 3 of the Phoenikika: 'Next to Caesarea lies Dor, a very small town inhabited by Phoenicians. These settled here because of the somewhat rocky nature of the beaches and the abundance of the purple-fish. At first they built themselves cabins, about which they placed stakes. When their business prospered, however, they split the rocks, and with the stones thus set free they built city-walls, and made a harbor with good and safe anchorage. They called the place in their native tongue Dor. But the Greeks, for the sake of its more pleasing sound, agree to call the city Dora. And some make the statement that Doros, the son of Poseidon, was its founder.'"

It has already been suggested[5] that the derivation of the name from Poseidon's son is simply one of the early legends of the city[6];

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[1] Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Enz.* III, 2728.

[2] This is indicated by his use of the name Caesarea in the passage quoted below.

[3] Pauly-Wissowa's *Enz.. l. c.*: Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* IV, 363.

[4] *Steph. Byz.*, ed. Meineke, p. 255, s.v. Δῶρος.

[5] Page 18.

[6] This tradition seems to be the reason for the use of the Poseidon-like head on some of the coins of Dor.

so also the account here of the city's early history. Evidently the town was of no great size in the time of Claudius Iolaus (*βραχεῖα πολίχνη*—cp. Artemidorus[1] "*πολισμάτιον*;" Clem. Recog. IV: 1[2], "breve oppidum;" Pliny[3], "memoria urbium.") The city wall can still be traced in part among the ruins[4]. That the purple-yielding murex constituted one of the sources of Dor's wealth is easily possible, for the coast in this neighborhood contains quantities of purple-fish[5]. The reference to Dor by Claudius Iolaus is interesting for the light it throws upon legends connected with the city, and because of the evidence it affords that early writers could even conceive of it as being of Greek origin. Probably its spirit and culture became in the later centuries B.C. essentially Greek in tone.

PLINY.

Pliny[6] speaks of Dor as though it were not in existence at the time[7] he wrote: "Hinc redeundum est ad oram, atque Phoenicen. Fuit oppidum Crocodilon, est flumen: memoria urbium, Doron, Sycaminon." The Crocodile River is located south of Dor[8]. But apart from a reference in Strabo[9] we have no further record of a city of that name. Sycaminon is in the Onomasticon[10] identified with Haifa, although the Talmud seems to regard the two as distinct the one from the other. Perhaps the two names were applied to the city proper and its harbor[11]. It is also possible that Sycaminon ought to be identified with the ruins Tell es-Semak, two miles distant from Haifa el-'Atīḳah[12].

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[1] Page 63.

[2] Page 98.

[3] Below.

[4] Page 10.

[5] *Enc. Bib.* s.v. Dor; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, XVI, p. 610. Cp. Deut. 33:18, 19, where Issachar is to "suck the abundance of the seas, and the hidden treasure of the sands." This may refer to the purple industry.

[6] *Hist. Nat.*, V, 17, ed. Gabraiels Brotier, with notes by Hardouin and Cigalino.

[7] C. 77 A.D.

[8] See p. 7.

[9] XVI, 2, §27.

[10] S.v. Hepha.

[11] Buhl, *Geog. des alten Pal.*, p. 214.

[12] *S.W.P. Mem.*, I, 289.—Sycaminon has also been located at 'Athlīt.

If Pliny was rightly informed by his sources, the phrase "memoria urbium" would seem to indicate that Dor had been for a time almost or quite in ruins[1]. The testimony of the coins[2], however, proves that Dor was certainly issuing coins from 64 A.D. down to the time of Elagabalus. Either Pliny was uninformed concerning the condition of Dor in his own time, or else he is indulging in hyperbole or loose and inexact inference.

Strabo[3] in the passage mentioned above (i.e., XVI, 2, § 27) has some interesting parallels to the statements of Pliny. He says:

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄκην Στράτωνος πύργος, πρόσορμον ἔχων. μεταξὺ δὲ ὅ τε Κάρμηλος τὸ ὄρος καὶ πολιχνίων ὀνόματα. πλέον δ' οὐδέν, Συκαμίνων πόλις, Βουκόλων καὶ Κροκοδείλων πόλις καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. εἶτα δρυμὸς μέγας τις.

"And after Ake is Strato's Tower, which has a harbor. And between these is Mount Carmel besides the names of little towns (and nothing more), viz., the city Sycaminoi, the cities Boukoloi and Crocodeiloi, and others of the same sort. Then follows a certain great forest."

It is to be noticed that Strabo here omits Dor from his enumeration of *πολιχνίων ὀνόματα*. It may be that Dor was overshadowed by its greater neighbor Caesarea. Like Pliny, Strabo mentions the city Sycaminon as no longer in existence. If his location of this town is correct, it could hardly be Haifa, but more easily the ruin Tell es-Semak already mentioned. A city Boukoloi (=herdsmen) in this region is not elsewhere referred to. The fact that this passage in Strabo is the only other mention of a city Crocodile (as well as the reference to Sycaminon and the general description of the coast[4]), may point to a dependence, either direct or through the mediation of other writers, of Pliny upon Strabo here[5]. The testimony of these writers is worth this much at least: It indicates that at a time probably near the beginning of our era the coast cities in this district suffered a temporary eclipse.

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[1] Cp. Sidon, which in 350 B. C. was captured and reduced to ashes by Artaxerxes Ochus. By the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great it was again a city of some importance.

[2] See above, p. 92.

[3] Date 63 B. C.–24 A. D.

[4] Notice that, while Pliny follows the coast from S. to N., Strabo enumerates the cities in the opposite direction. Boukoloi thus stands in the place of Dor.

[5] This statement, in view of the rather scanty evidence, is made very tentatively.

PTOLEMY.

Claudius Ptolemaus, Alexandrian geographer and astronomer, includes Dor within the *Φοινίκης θέσις*, and reckons its position as follows[1]:

Δωρα	$\bar{\xi}\varsigma$	*ά*(=½)	*λβ*	*γό*
"Dor	66°	30′	32°	40′"

This testimony would seem to indicate that Dor was still in existence about the middle of the second century A. D.

CHARAX PERGAMENUS.

Stephan of Byzantium[2] quotes from Book 11 of Charax to the effect that Trypho, when besieged at Dor by Antiochus, fled *εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, τὴν Ἄκην λεγομένην*, "to Ptolemais, called Ake"[3]. Müller[4] places Charax under the emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (i. e., 117–180 A. D.). Charax gives us, however, no information concerning Dor in his own period.

PAUSANIAS.

In the course of his discussion of the ethnic of Dor, Stephan of Byzantium[5] quotes Pausanius as authority for the form *Δωριεῖς* (from *Δωριεύς*), as follows:

Παυσανίας δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ κτίσει Δωριεῖς αὐτοὺς καλεῖ τῇδε γράφων "Τύριοι Ἀσκαλωνῖται Δωριεῖς Ῥαφανεῶται," ὥστε παρὰ τὴν Δῶρον τὸ Δώριον εἶναι, οὗ ἂν εἴη τὸ Δωριεύς, ὡς τοῦ Χήσιον τὸ Χησιευς.

"And Pausanias in his work on his native land calls them Dorieis, writing thus: 'Tyrians, Askalonites, Dorieis, Rhaphanites;' so that beside the feminine Doros there is a neuter form Dorion, whose ethnic would be Dorieus, just as the ethnic of Chesion is Chesieus."

Pausanias was a Greek traveller and author who lived in the latter half of the second Christian century[6]. Examination of his

[1] *Geog.* V, 15:5; ed. Nobbe. Ptolemy flourished from 127–151 A. D.

[2] S.v. *Δῶρος*: also in Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* III, 644 n. 40.

[3] See above, p. 68.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 636.

[5] S.v. *Δῶρος*.

[6] Lippincott on the name: preface to Shilleto's translation.

Περιήγησις[1] fails to reveal the quotation Stephan pretends to give. The Tyrians appear elsewhere but Ascalon occurs only as a town name; of the Rhaphanites[2] there is no mention. The Dorieis frequently referred to by Stephan are not the inhabitants of Dor, but the Greek Dorians. It is quite possible that Stephan here quotes from memory, and with results most disastrous to his argument.

THE CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS.

In the pseudo-Clementine Recognitions Dor is referred to as a "breve oppidum." This theological "Tendenz-Romance" represents Peter and his party on their way from Caesarea to Tripolis as stopping overnight in an inn at Dor. On the morrow they continue on their way as far as Ptolemais. The Latin translation of Rufinus of Aquileia (d. 410 A.D.) reads as follows[3] (Book IV: 1):

Profecti a Caesarea ut Tripolim pergeremus, apud Doram breve oppidum primam fecimus mansionem, quia nec longe aberat. Et omnes paene qui per sermonem Petri crediderant, divelli ab eo satis aegre habebant, sed pariter incedentes, dum iterum videre, iterum complecti iuvat, iterum conferre sermonem, ad diversorium prevenimus, sequenti vero die venimus Ptolomaidem.

The Recognitions are probably to be dated at the earliest in the first half of the third century A.D.[4]. Their older sources go back at least to the end of the second century A.D. Thus we have here the statement that about the year 200 (later or earlier) Dor was known to the writer of the Clementine Recognitions as a small town.

EUSEBIUS AND JEROME.

Eusebius (c. 275–c. 340) includes Dor in his Onomasticon[5] under the two forms Δὼρ τοῦ Ναφὰθ and Ναφεθδώρ, as follows: (*O. S.* 250: 56)

Δὼρ τοῦ Ναφάθ. αὕτη ἐστὶ τῆς παραλίας Δῶρα ἡ πρὸς Καισαρείαν τῆς Παλαιστίνης. ἣν οὐκ ἔλαβεν ἡ φυλὴ Μανασσῆ, ὅτι μὴ ἀνεῖλεν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀλλοφύλους. (*Ios.* 11: 2; 17: 11, 12.)

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[1] Ed. Hitzig & Bluemmer; trans. by Frazer.

[2] Inasmuch as the other cities quoted are on the coast, Raphia is probably here meant, not Raphana of the Decapolis.

[3] Ed. Gersdorf, pp. 114 f.

[4] Uhlhorn in Hauck-Herzog, *Real-Enckl.*, art. Clementinen; T. Smith in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, p. 74.

[5] *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde (2) 1887.

"Dor of Naphath: This is Dor of the sea-coast, adjacent to Caesarea Palestina; which the tribe of Manasseh did not take, because they failed to destroy the Gentiles in it."

(*O. S.* 283:3) Ναφεθδώρ. Σ. ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Δῶρα. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ θ σημείων Καισαρείας. (*Ios.* 11:2.)

"Napheth-dor: Symmachus (translates): 'Dor on the sea-coast'. This is nine miles distant from Caesarea."

Under the name Μαγδιήλ[1] Eusebius (and after him Jerome) refers to the town under its shorter name; i. e., taking it as a neuter plural form, he gives the genitive as Δώρων. From these references to the town, it would appear that Dor was in existence at the time Eusebius wrote[2], i. e., in the early part of the fourth century.

Between this time and the translation of the Onomasticon by Jerome[3] (c. 390)[4], however, Dor seems to have fallen temporarily into ruins[5]. In his free rendering of the passages of Eusebius quoted above, Jerome speaks of Dor as deserted (*O.S.* 115:22): Dor Nafeth, quod Symmachus transtulit Dor maritima (*Ios.* 11:2) haec est Dora in nono miliario Caesareae Palaestinae pergentibus Tyrum, *nunc deserta*, quae cum cecidisset in sortem tribus Manasse, eam possidere non potuit, quia habitatores in illa pristini permanserunt (*Ios.* 17:11, 12). (*O.S.* 142:13): Nefeddor, quod Symmachus interpretatur maritimam (*Ios.* 11:2). Dor autem est oppidum *iam desertum* in nono miliario Caesareae pergentibus Ptolomaidem.

In his Sanctae Paulae peregrinatio[6], Jerome repeats his testimony concerning Dor, as follows: . . . . et per campos Mageddo, Josiae necis conscios intravit terram Philisthiim. Mirata *ruinas Dor*, u rb quondam potentissimae. Paula was a Roman matron who left Rome in 382 and lived in Bethlehem from 384 until her death in 404. On the basis of the statements of Eusebius and Jerome

[1] *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde (2) 1887, 280:40.

[2] See on the Bishops of Dor, pp. 102 ff.

[3] *Hieronymi de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum liber.*

[4] Hauck-Herzog, *Encyk.*, s.v. Hieronymus.

[5] The fact that Dor was the seat of a bishopric at a later period indicates that it was restored. It would appear from the conflicting accounts of Dor in the early Christian centuries that the town passed through alternate periods of prosperity and decline.

[6] = *epist. 108 ad. Eustochium* c.VIII in opp. ed. Vallarsii et Maffaeii I, 696. Also in Tobler et Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, I. p. 31.

we are probably justified in inferring that some calamity depopulated Dor sometime after the middle of the fourth century. Later, however, the city must have been reëstablished, for we read of bishops of Dor in the following centuries.

TABULA PEUTINGERIANA.

Dor appears on the Tabula Peutingeriana[1] under the form Thora[2]. The distance from Thora to Cesaria is indicated as VIII miles, from Thora to Ptolomaide as XX miles. The former of these distances is approximately correct, the latter not large enough by several miles[3].

This interesting map of military roads of the western Roman Empire is named after the Augsburg recorder, Konrad Peutinger, who obtained it in 1508 from its discoverer. This particular copy was made in the 13th century; the original in its present form goes back probably to the fourth century A.D.[4].

STEPHAN OF BYZANTIUM.

Stephan of Byzantium[5], the author of a geographical dictionary called "Ethnica," is supposed to have lived in the fifth century[6]. Included in the abridgement of this work now extant is a chapter on Δῶρος. πόλις Φοινίκης ("Dor, a city of Phoenicia"). The chapter mainly consists (in addition to a discussion of the ethnic of the town's name) of quotations from Greek writers. These quotations have been fully treated above[7], so that there is no need for their further discussion here.

While Stephan has preserved in his quotations from the authors he cites valuable bits of information regarding Dor, he leaves us in the dark concerning the Dor of his own day. Like most ancient writers he is not consistently critical in his methods, and his testi-

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[1] Ed. Desjardins (1868), segment IX.

[2] See above, p. 17.

[3] Guérin, *Sam.* 2:314.

[4] Teuffel-Schwabe, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* (Eng. Trans. 1891-2), II, §412:6; *Enc. Brit.* s.v. Konrad Peutinger.

[5] Ed. Meineke, 1849, pp. 254 ff.

[6] Lippincott's *Pron. & Biog. Dict.* on the name.

[7] Hecataeus, see p. 62; Josephus, pp. 66 ff.; Claudius Iolaus, pp. 94 f.; Artemidorus, p. 63; Apollodorus, p. 63; Alexander Ephesius, p. 64; Charax, p. 97; Pausanias, pp. 97 f.; Craterus, pp. 62 f.

mony must, therefore, be carefully questioned at most points. His quotations are not always strictly accurate[1].

HIEROCLES.

Hierocles, a grammarian, who is supposed to have lived in the sixth century A. D.[2], wrote in Greek a "Handbook for Travellers" (Συνέκδημος), which lists the towns and provinces under the Eastern emperor at Constantinople. Dor is included among the cities in the first of the three divisions of the province of Palestine, as follows[3]:

Ἐπαρχία Παλαιστίνης, ὑπὸ κονσουλάριον, πόλεις κβ΄:
Καισάρεια μητρόπολις
Δῶρα
Ἀντιπατρίς
Διόσπολις
Ἄζωτος παράλιος
Ἄζωτος μεσόγειος, κτλ.

"The province of Palestine, under a proconsul, 22 cities:
Caesarea, metropolis
Dor
Antipatris
Diospolis
Azotus on the coast
Azotus inland, etc., etc."

In the fifth century the three-fold partition of Palestine (which is here used by Hierocles) into Palestina Prima (or Maritima), Palestina Secunda, and Palestina Tertia (or Salutaris) began to prevail[4]. These divisions were at once political and ecclesiastical, and continued during the time of the Crusades. The first division included the coast region as far as Carmel, with Caesarea as its metropolis or archbishop's see. Dor is, as here, prevailingly named immediately after adjacent Caesarea. These early lists of towns are repeatedly copied by later writers, sometimes with modifications, but apparently without investigation into the question of the contemporary state of the cities[5].

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[1] See on Josephus (pp. 86 f.), and on Pausanias (p. 97 f.).

[2] Lippincott on the name; Burckhardt, *Hieroclis Synecdemus*, p. XIV (before 535 A. D.).

[3] *Hierocles Grammaticus*, ed. Parthey, p. 43; ed. Burckhardt, p. 41.

[4] Socin in *Enc. Bib.*, 3548 f., s.v. Palestine.

[5] See on Georgius Cyprius below.

THE BISHOPS OF DOR.

FIDUS.

Lequien[1] has collected records of five early bishops of Dor. The first of these is Fidus, who belongs in the last quarter of the fifth century. Apparently Dor had been rebuilt since the time of Jerome, when it was in ruins[2]. The references to Fidus, Lequien quotes from the "Vita sancti Euthymii abbatis, apud Cotelerium to. 2 monum. eccl. Graec." This biography of St. Euthymius was written by the monk Cyrillus of Scythopolis[3]. Lequien's quotations of the passages from the life of Euthymius relative to Fidus, and his comments on these quotations follow.

Nam n. 60. p. 249. narrat 'Fidum' Fidi Joppensis episcopi nepotem, Anastasium, qui postea Hierosolymitanus evasit Patriarcha iuxta Euthymii prophetiam, comitatum esse ad eundem Euthymium invisendum euntem: "Quum ergo desiderium videndi hominis (Euthymii) in se aleret, Fido Joppes episcopo, & Cosinae Crucum custodi pulchram illam communicat cupiditatem; atque eos assumens, quin etiam Fidum alterum episcopi Fidi nepotem, (erat autem is adhuc aetate iuvenis, & in chorum lectorum cooptatus; qui etiam Cyriaco monacho haec tradidit & narravit:) cum iis proficiscitur ad magnum Euthymium, etc." Id contigit ante Juvenalis Patriarchae Hierosolymitani obitum, cui successit Anastasius modo memoratus anno 458. qui "Statim (ut refertur ibid. num. 96. pag 20) Fidum, qui ad lauram cum ipso accesserat, audieratque praedictiones (Euthymii,) ordinat diaconum, & rursus ad magnum (Euthymium) mittit una cum custode crucis; tum prophetiae significans eventum, tum rogans sibi permitti ad eum pergere, etc." Num. 110. adfuit praesens Euthymii funeribus an. 473, die 20. Januar, defuncti. "Fama celeriter (mortis Euthymii) per omnem finitimam regionem sparsa," inquit Cyrillus ibid. pag. 294, "monachorum & laicorum multitudo vix numerabilis congregata est; quin etiam Anastasius Hierosolymorum Patriarcha, assumto secum clericorum simul & militum examine, accessit.

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[1] *Oriens Christianus* (Paris 1740) III, pp. 574-9.

[2] See above, p. 99.

[3] *Oriens Christ.* III, p. 575.

Aderat quoque Chrysippus, unaque Gabrielius, sed & diaconus Fidus . . . . cunctos autem in stuporem adducebat continuatio miraculorum." Et pag. seq. 295. "Fidum autem diaconum (Patriarcha) in laura relinquens, ei aedificandi (sepulcri Euthymii) committit negotium. . . . . quo beatae illae Euthymii reliquiae in apto & convenienti loco deponerentur." Et num. 112. p. 296. "At diaconus Fidus, multa operarum manus collecta magnoque adhibito studio, speluncam quae in principio tenuit quiete agentem Euthymium, aedem pulcherrimam & maximam efficit, etc." Mortuo Anastasio anno Christo 478. Martyrius eius successor, ad "Imperatorem Zenonem & Acacium Constantinopolitanum episcopum scribit de Aposchistis," ibid num. 113 pag. 298 . . . . "atque Fido diacono litteris traditis, non pauca viro ore etiam dicenda mandat." Verum quum navigium ascendisset Fidus, certo naufragio ereptus fuit ab Euthymio quem invocaverat, quiqui illi apparens, dixit, n. 114 p. 299. "Noli timere: Ego sum Euthymius servus Dei: scias autem tibi bonum non esse hoc iter conspectu Dei; nullam enim afferet utilitatem matri ecclesiarum. Quapropter oportet te reverti ad eum qui te misit, eique meo nomine denunciare, ne sit ullatenus sollicitus de disiunctione Aposchistarum: non enim diu abhinc, sed sub eius Pontificatu erit unio, & omnes Hierosolymitani fient unus grex atque sub uno Pastore." (Veritatem visionis firmavit vaticinii eventus, de quo vide supra col 176.) "Te autem oportet venire ad meam lauram; & fratrum quidem cellas (dispersas nempe) diruere ab ipsis fundamentis, coenobium vero readificare illic, ubi meum aedificasti caemeterium. Locum enim Deo placet non lauram esse, sed potius caenobium etc." Et num. 116. pag. 301. "Transiens postea ad Patriarcham, ei omnia renunciavit Fidus. Et ille vehementer admiratus narrationem opinione maiorem; profecto, inquit, Dei propheta est magnus Euthymius . . . . quae enim ad lauram spectant, ea coram nobis omnibus praedixit, iam in Christo per mortem consummandus. His dictis, ipse etiam Fido committit coenobii aedificationem, conceditque ei ut illo proficiscatur, simul professos se quoque omnibus viribus apus una esse aggressurum." Et num. 117. "Fidus itaque, accepta magna manu ministrorum & structorum, cum uno ex mechanicis seu architectis, descendit in lauram: quumque aedificasset coenobium, septoque & muro in orbem esset complexus, vetus quidem templum attribuit fratribus ad caenaculum, aliud autem templum aedificat superius. Intra coenobium vero splendide

excitat turrim velut quoddam totius eremi propugnaculum, & in medio caemeterio collocat etc." Et n. 119. "Quum itaque huiusmodi totum caenobii aedificium simul & ornamentum non opus habuisset plus quam tribus annis ob multas manus intensumque ministerium, volebant quidem divini illi Patres, cum alio ornatu & artificio dedicationem etiam ecclesiae tribuere; eos autem arcebat rursus aquae penuria: nam in illa solitudine pluit tantum hyeme . . . . Itaque Helias praepositus, & diaconus Fidus significant Longino inferioris monasterii praefecto, & paulo praeposito monasterii Martyrii, ut per iumenta eos adiuvent ad aquam ex Pharis ἀπὸ Φαρῶν transferendam." Num. 120. pag. 504. "Sequenti ergo nocte, paratis iis circa diluculum ad iter, iamque congregatis iumentis, apparet nocte illa beato Heliae magnus Euthymius: Quid hoc sibi vult, rogans, quod hodie iumenta congregetis? Quum is vero respondisset; ut aquam ex Pharis afferamus, eo quod nos nunc omnino defecerit; increpavit ille, dicens: Modicae fidei homines, quanam de causa Deum non precati estis? Num is qui e praerupta petra inobedientem potavit populum, & aquam ex asini maxilla Samsoni aliquando fecit scaturire, non poterit vobis quoque ad usum suppeditare, dummodo cum fide offeratis petitionem? Deinde eis etiam prohibuit iter ad Pharas ἐπὶ Φαρὰς ut minime necessarium. Aqua enim vobis implebuntur, inquit, vel maximae cisternae, ne tribus quidem horis expectatis." Et n. 121. "Excitatus è somno ad visionem beatus Helias, statimque ea Fido & reliquis annunciata, iumenta à proposito solvit ministerio: quum non autem iam transisset, & sol omnem quantam videt terram radiorum illustraret iaculis; nubes alicunde aërem subito complexa caenobio incumbentem, erupit protinus in pluviam, & omnia quidem circumcirca simile adhuc puniebat flagellum siccitatis; ii autem soli qui erant in caenobio, aqua praeter opinionem fruebantur: perinde ac si aliquis pluviam circumscripsisset, rursusque non sineret ulterius progredi. Postquam autem cisternae fuerunt aqua plenae, nec ii amplius indigebant imbribus è caelo, statim nubes dissipata est, & vehemens imbrium procella ad serenitatem iterum redacta fuit." Et num. 122. pag. 305. "Quum vero miraculum brevi totam pervasisset solitudinem, atque ad ipsum etiam archiepiscopum Martyrium iam pervenisset, descendens ille cum multa rerum affluentia ad coenobium, praeclaram agit synaxim & vigiliam cum multis lampadibus & suffitibus καὶ θυμιάμασι; sed & splendidam magnificamque facit dedicationem: Deponem sub altari quasdam partes reliquiarum martyrum Tarochi, Probi & Andronici, septimo

mensis Maii, anno iam duodecimo post Euthymii mortem (proindeque Christi 484). Quum aliquod autem tempus transiisset, diaconus quoque Fidus accipit episcopatum civitatis quae vocatur Dora:" Proindeque ordinatus est Fidus iste, vel sub finem anni 484 vel anno seq. 485. Quid in praesulatu egerit, & quonam obierit anno nos latet. Constat solum exeunte anno 518, eum non fuisse amplius superstitem.

BAROCHIUS.

The second Bishop of Dor of whom we have any record is Barochius[1], who was present at the council of Jerusalem in 518[2]. This council convened under Patriarch John of Jerusalem in order to ratify the decisions of the Council of Constantinople held earlier in the same year under Patriarch John of Constantinople[3]. The two councils were in decided agreement. Among the thirty-three bishops assembled at Jerusalem was Barochius. His name appears with the other signatures attached to the decree of assent issued by the Jerusalem Patriarch[4]: Βαρώχιος ἐπίσκοπος Δώρων ἐῤῥῶσθαι με, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Barochius[5], episcopus Dororum, valere me, & reliqua. From the first signature to this document (viz., that of the Patriarch John of Jerusalem) we learn that καὶ τὰ λοιπά represents: καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ εὐαρεστεῖν εὔχεσθε δεσπόται ἅγιοι, καὶ θεοφιλέστατοι, καὶ ὁσιώτατοι πατέρες. Latin: & domino beneplacere orate, domini sancti, ac Deo amantissimi & sanctissimi patres.

In the year 518, therefore, Barochius was at the head of the bishopric of Dor. Further information concerning him we have none[6].

JOHN.

A third Bishop of Dor was among those who, in September, 536, were present at a council held in Jerusalem under the Patriarch

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[1] Variant form in the Latin, "Marochius" (Harduin, *Acta Conciliorum* II, p. 1346; Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, VIII, p. 1073). Guérin (*Sam.* 2:313) writes "Baronius." He also calls him the first Bishop of Dor.

[2] Lequien III, pp. 578 f.

[3] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* II, pp. 688 ff.

[4] Mansi VIII, pp. 1073 f., Harduin, II, pp. 1345 f. This decree is recorded in Harduin among the acts of a later Constantinople Council, held in 536 under Mennas (Hefele *l.c.*; Noris, *Annus et Epochae*, p. 457).

[5] See note 1, above.

[6] Lequien, *l.c.*

Peter. Ἰωάννης ἐπίσκοπος Δοάρων ("John, Bishop of Dor") appears among the signers of the decree (directed against Anthimus and other opponents of the Council of Chalcedon), which was promulgated by the Jerusalem council[1]. The fact that at the Constantinople Council held in the same year (May and June 536), John, Bishop of Zoar, was present[2], might seem to indicate that Ζοάρων should be read for Δοάρων. But the reading with Δ is the one here attested[3]; and it is hardly probable that Dor was without representation at the Jerusalem Council[4]. In itself there is nothing improbable in the conclusion that the bishops of Dor and Zoar in the year 536 were both named John.

STEPHAN.

On the eighth of October, 649, Stephan, Bishop of Dor, was introduced to the Constantinople Council of that year, over which Pope Martin presided[5]. From the communication read to this Council by Stephan we learn that this was his third appearance before the Pope at Rome. He had been sent the first time by Sophronius I, Patriarch of Jerusalem (who succeeded Modestus, c. 634[6]) to accuse Sergius of Joppa and other Bishops of monothelitism. Pope Theodore (as we learn from Stephan's letter just mentioned) appointed Stephan his representative in Palestine to convert to orthodoxy or else to depose the heretic bishops appointed by Sergius[7]. Some of these bishops recanted and were duly confirmed in their offices by Pope Martin.

Stephan is introduced[8] by a "Theophylactus notarius" to the Constantinople Council of 649 (Secretarius II) as ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Δώρων πρῶτος ὑπάρχων τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερατικῆς δικαιοδοσίας. "The most reverend Bishop of Dor, who is first of the church council in Jerusalem." In the introduction and conclusion of the

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[1] Lequien, III, p. 579; Harduin, II, p. 1418.

[2] Lequien, *l. c.*; Harduin, II, p. 1402.

[3] Although the Latin in Harduin reads "Posdonus."

[4] Cp. the Jerusalem Council in 518 just discussed, at which Barochius of Dor was present.

[5] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, III, pp. 216 f.; Noris, *Annus et Epochae*, pp. 457 ff.; Lequien, III, pp. 579 f.

[6] Lequien, *l. c.*

[7] Hefele, III, pp. 209 f.

[8] Mansi X, pp. 891 f.; Harduin, III, pp. 709 ff.

letter he reads[1], Stephan refers to himself in almost exactly the same words. Among the signatures under Secretarius I of this same council[2] appears in Latin the name : Stephano Dorensi episc. In the Greek of both Mansi and Harduin, however, the name does not appear.

The address of Stephan to the Council[3] proves him to be a man zealous for the orthodox faith, in defence of which he has incurred the bitter hate of his opponents. He points out that Christ must possess both a divine and a human will if he is at once true God and true man. Any other teaching is opposed to that of the Council of Chalcedon. No innovations must be permitted to stain the faith. Stephan and those in the East renew the request of Sophronius that the Council reject and destroy these false teachings which are again being spread abroad by Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus, and by Sergius of Joppa and his followers.

In a letter to John, Bishop of Philadelphia[4], Pope Martin says that John had been strongly recommended to him by Stephan of Dor and the eastern monks. He therefore appoints John as his vicar in the East, with the task of restoring order and appointing in the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem bishops, priests and deacons. Bishop Stephan, to whom this commission had originally been given, had been hindered by others[5] from executing it.

Pope Martin wrote to a certain Pantaleon[6] in reply to his criticism of Stephan of Dor. The Pope laments the circumstance that, while Stephan had been given full authority to depose certain bishops and priests, the documents authorizing him to appoint others to fill their places had been kept from him. In this way the clergy in those districts had become insufficient for the needs. The Pope has now appointed a new vicar and instructed him whom he may or may not appoint. This new vicar is evidently John, Bishop of Philadelphia, to whom reference has just been made. How

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[1] Mansi X, pp. 891 E., 901 B ; Harduin, III, pp. 709 ff., 720.

[2] Mansi X, p. 867.

[3] Hefele, III, pp. 216 f.

[4] Mansi X, pp. 806 ff. ; Harduin, III, p. 639 ; Hefele, III, p. 230.

[5] Cp. Letter to Pantaleon following.

[6] Mansi X, p. 821 A ; Harduin, III, p. 652 ; Noris, *Annus etc.* p. 455 ; Hefele, III, p. 231.—Nothing further is known about Pantaleon. The letter was probably written shortly after 649 (cp. Mansi).

many years after 649 Stephanus continued his work we do not know[1].

ZACHARIUS.

From the works of St. John of Damascus (died between 963–969 A. D.) Lequien quotes[2] the title of a letter from Peter Mansur to Zacharius, bishop of Dor (written Δοάρων)[3]. Inasmuch as we know nothing further about either the sender or the receiver of this letter, it is not possible to determine its date. It would seem, however, that we have had preserved for us here a copy of a letter sent to one of the bishops of Dor, perhaps from the sixth or seventh century. Lequien's statement is as follows:

Extat inter opera S. Joannis Damasceni novae editionis Paris. 1712. to I, p. 655 A. 'epistola sanctissimi Petri Mansur ad Zachariam episcopum Doarum Δοάρων, de corpore & sanguine Christi.' Pro Δοάρων autem legendum arbitror Δώρων Dororum. Auctor enim huius epistolae, qui non fuit ipse sanctus Joannes Damascenus, cuius nec doctrinam refert, videtur commoratus in Palestina, quippe qui pag. 655 A. quaedam verba recitat ex liturgia sancti Jacobi seu Hierosolymitana. Quum vero non constet quandonam vixerit Petrus ille, pariter etiam huius Zachariae aevum definiri accuratè non potest. Eius porro hic meminimus, ex hopothesi quod reipsa fuerit, aliquo tempore, Dororum in Palestina episcopus, Zacharias nuncupatus.

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[1] Lequien, III, p. 580.

[2] *Oriens Christianus*, III, p. 580: *Opera Joannis Damasceni Monachi et Presbyteri Hierosolymitani* (Venetiis. 1748).

[3] Cp. Bishop John, p. 105.

LATER GEOGRAPHERS.

ISIDOR OF SEVILLE.

In his work Originum sive Etymologiarum Libri XX, Isidor of Seville[1] refers to Dor in the following terms (Bk. XV, ch. 1): Dor urbs fuit quondam potentissima, et versa vice Stratonis turris, postea ab Herode, rege Iudaeae, in honorem Caesaris Augusti Caesarea nuncupata. In qua Cornelii domum Christi vidit[2] ecclesia[3], et Philippi aediculas, et cubiculum quatuor virginum prophetarum.

Isidorus Hispalensis lived from 565 to 636 A. D., becoming bishop of Seville in 600. The work from which the passage above is quoted is a compilation of various sources. Among these sources[4] are included Orosius, Jerome's Onomasticon, Solinus, Servius on Vergil, Josephus' Antiquities and Suetonius. His work has not, therefore, the value of an original source.

How little his knowledge of geography really was is indicated by Isidor's evident confusion (in the passage quoted) of Dor and Caesarea. In some way his sources seem to have given him the idea that Dor was but another name for Strato's Tower; possibly on a map the names were written confusedly[5]. The mention of bishops of Dor contemporary with Isidor[6] clearly proves that the city was in existence in his day.

GEOGRAPHUS RAVENNAS.

From the seventh century there has come down to us the work of an anonymous writer on geography, who is referred to as Geographus Ravennas. His main source appears to be the Tabula Peutingeriana; in addition he used several Greek writers as sources[7].

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[1] Ed. F. V. Otto, p. 462. (=Tom III *Corpus Gram. Lat. Vet.*)

[2] Var., "videt", "est".

[3] Var. "ecclesiam".

[4] K. Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, VI, p. 59.

[5] K. Miller (*Mappae Mundi*, VI, Map 2) has tentatively reconstructed a map on the basis of the work of Isidor. On this map "dor Cesarea" appears between Tyrus and Joppe.—There are several T-shaped sketch maps preserved in MSS. of this writer.

[6] See chapter on "Bishops of Dor".

[7] Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, VI, p. 34.

As a result of this process of compilation repetitions occur. For example, in Book II, chap. 15, Phoenice is included in Syria; while in chap. 16 of the same Book II, Fenitia appears as a province of Asia Minor[1].

In Book II, chap. 15 of this work[2], Dora is included among the maritime cities (Phoenician) as follows: Item ad aliam partem iuxta mare sunt civitates, id est Biblon, Birithon, Sidone, Tyrone, Edippa, Ptolemaida, Dora.

Again in Book V, chap. 7[3], Dora is mentioned with "totas civitates circa litora totius maris magni positas[4]," as follows: Iterum civitas . . . . Ioppe, Apollonia, Caesarea Palaestinae, Dora, Ptolomaida, Ecdilpa, Tyros[5].

This reference to Dor by Ravennas adds nothing to our information about the city.

GUIDO.

In the year 1119 a certain Guido, concerning whose identity nothing definite is known, wrote a sort of universal history in six books. As a basis for his work he used the writings of the anonymous Geographus Ravennas, in such manner that his "Geographica" is little more than a recension of the earlier work[6]. From this compilation by Guido, we quote the following[7]: Si subtilius scire voluerit totas circumquaque parte per litora maris positas etc. . . . . Ioppe, Apollonia, Cesarea Phalestinae, Dora, Ptolomaida, Ecdilpa, Tyrus Sidonia. . . . .

No contribution to our knowledge of Dor is made by this late compilation of earlier materials.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

There has been preserved part of a French Provincial (= list of bishopries, etc.) dating from c. 1180 A.D., which names Dor first

[1] Miller, *l. c.*

[2] *Ravennatis anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, p. 89.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 357.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 325. Here in the opposite order.

[5] See Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, VI, p. 30 for partial reconstructed map of Ravennas exhibiting Dora.

[6] Miller, *Mappae Mundi*, III. p. 54; VI. p. 7.

[7] *Ravennatis anon. Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. Pinder et Parthey, pp. 504, 524.

among the sees under Caesarea. It reads in part as follows[1]: (Patriarcat De Jérusalem).

En Palestine, li premiers sieges: Cesaire Maritime que Herodes redesia, soz laquele sunt XIX sieges d'eveschié: Dore, Antipatrida, Jamnias, Assur, Nicople, Omis, Sorti Kayfas, Ierico, Apotas, Paumeroie, Cipon, Escomason, Essûlion, Touxe, Le Sault, Constantine.

This list is extremely corrupt[2], and goes back to early Greek and Latin lists as its sources[3]. It cannot therefore be used as an argument for the continued existence of Dor down to the end of the twelfth century.

GEORGIUS CYPRIUS.

George of Cyprus[4] became patriarch of Constantinople in 1283 and abdicated in 1289. He wrote, evidently on the basis of older documents, a "Descriptio orbis romani." In this work he reproduces[5] the early churchly division of Palestine in A., B. and C., naming Dor[6] as first of the sees under the metropolis Caesarea:

Ἐπαρχία Παλαιστίνης Α̅.
Αἰλία Ἱεροσολύμων Ἁγία Πόλις.
Καισάρεια μητρόπολις.
Δῶρα.
Ἀντιπατρίς.
Διόσπολις ἤτοι Γεωργιούπολις.
Ἰάμνια.
Νικόπολις.
Ὄνους.
Σῴζουσα.
Ἰόππη.
Ἀσκαλών.
Γάζα.
Ῥαφία.
Ἀνθηδών.
Διοκλητιανούπολις.

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[1] Michelant et Reynaud, *Itinéraires à Jerusalem* etc., p. 12.
[2] Cp. list of Georgius Cyprius following.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. XII.
[4] Lippincott's *Pron. & Biog. Dict.*, s.v.
[5] *Georgius Cyprius*, ed. Gelzer, No. 1000.
[6] Cp. the "Patriarchate of Jerusalem" preceding.

Ἐλευθερόπολις.
Νεαπόλις.
Σεβαστή.
Ῥεγεὼν Ἀπάθους.
Ῥεγεὼν Ἱεριχώ.
Ῥεγεὼν Λιβίας.
Ῥεγεὼν Γάδαρα.
Ἄζωτος Πάραλος.
Ἄζωτος ἡ Ἵππινος.
Ἐυκωμάζων.
Βιττύλιος.
Τρικωμίας.
Τόξος.
Σάλτων Κωνσταντιανικῆς.
Σάλτων Γεραϊτικὸς.
ἤτοι βαρσάμων.

"Eparchy Palestine A.
Aelia[1] Jerusalem, the Holy City.
Caesarea Metropolis.
Dor,
Antipatris, etc., etc."

Dor's place in these lists seems to be regularly after that of Caesarea. It would seem that the version of Georgius Cyprius has suffered less corruption of text than that of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem above.

[1] So named after Publius Aelius Hadrianus (Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon* s.v.).

In connection with the First Crusade (1095–1099) mention of Dor is made by several historians. Foucher de Chartres[1], who himself took part in the events he is narrating, traces the route taken in 1099 by the French along the coast on their journey to Jerusalem. After a futile attempt to capture Archas, a city near the Lebanons, the army was proceeding down the coast. Regarding the march from Acre to Caesarea Foucher writes as follows:

Accon vero, id est Ptholomaida, ab Austro habet Carmeli montem. Iuxta quam transeuntes ad dexteram reliquerunt oppidum Caypham[2] dictum, post haec iuxta Doram[3], exin, iuxta Caesaream Palaestinae incessimus, quae quidem antiquitus dicta est altero nomine Turris Stratonis, in qua Herodes . . . . exspiravit infeliciter.

The anonymous author of the Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Expugnantium, writing before 1109 (who himself declares that his work is an abridgment of that by Foucher de Chartres), records this same march down the coast[4]:

Transeuntes autem Achilon[5], invenerunt oppidum Caypha dictum, quod est sub Carmelo monte, et habet mare ob Oriente, montem vero ab Occidente. Dehinc Caesaream Palaestinae adorsi sunt, quae quidem Dor[6] antiquitus, a quibusdam vero Turris Stratonis nuncupata est, in qua Herodes . . . . infeliciter exspiravit.

This account adds nothing to the information given by Foucher de Chartres. It is suggestive, however, in that the carelessness with which the author handles his source warns us against expecting any great amount of accuracy in Crusading historians.

[1] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* III, pp. XXVII, 354; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Bongars, I, p. 396.

[2] I.e., Haifa.

[3] One MSS. (F in the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Paris) and ed. Bongars add: "vel Pirgul." This is doubtless a corruption of *πίργος* (see Guérin, *Sam.* II, p. 314), and refers probably to Caesarea, whose ancient name was *πίργος Στράτωνος* (= Turris Stratonis).

[4] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, III, pp. XXXVI, 508.

[5] I.e., Acre (or Accho or Accon).

[6] This is, of course, an error on the part of the writer. Possibly he is following Isidor of Spain, who makes the same mistake (see above, p. 109).

In still another record of this march mention is made of Dor. This is the anonymous history of the First Crusade (with a continuation to 1123) written in 1146-47 by order of Baldwin III of Jerusalem, and known as Balduini III Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena[1]. Beginning with the abandonment of the siege of Archas, this account reads:

Mox obsidionem solventes, praetergressi sunt urbem Tripolim deinde urbem Beritum, post haec Sydonem, quae ab incolis Sagitta dicitur, exinde Sareptam Sydoniae, dehinc Tyrum, quam Sur nominant (Hebraice enim Soor dicitur), inde Ptolemaidam, prius Accon dictam, deinde oppidum Chaypha, exhinc Doram, post haec Caesaream Palaestinae, quae altero nomine Turris Stratonis dicitur.

Like the accounts already given, this gives us no definite information about the town of Dor.

Covering in part this same period is the work, Benedicti De Accoltis Historia Gotefridi[2], written between the years 1464 and 1466. In the midst of his description of the advance toward Jerusalem, this late historian digresses in order to explain the location of the principal cities of Judea:

Duo in ea nobiles portus Lannetorum et Gazeon imprimis fuerunt, et infrascriptae urbes maritimae, quae praecipuae habebantur: Stratonis (Pyrgus), Caesarea, Appollonia, Azotus, Joppe, Aschalon, Gaza, Dora et Antedon.

After mentioning other Judean and the Samaritan and Galilean cities, he continues:

Sed ex his non paucae urbibus desertae aut disiectae fuerant, quum Christiani Judaeam armis repetiverunt, plurimae quoque vetus nomen prorsus amiserant.

Casual reference to Dor is made by William of Tyre (Book X, Cap. XXVI)[3] in connection with the wounding of King Baldwin I in the year 1103 on his return along the coast after the abandonment of the siege of Ptolemais:

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[1] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, V, pp. XXXI, 174 E.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. CXXXV, 599 C. Practically his only source was the work of William of Tyre.

[3] *Ibid.* I, Part I, p. 440.

Volensque per Caesaream redire, accidit quod in loco, qui dicitur Petra Incisa[1], iuxta antiquam Tyrum[2], inter Capharnaum[3] et Doram, oppida maritima, qui locus hodie Districtum[4] appellatur, praedones et viarum publicarum effractores invenit. Etc. etc.

This same writer again makes incidental reference to Dor in his account of the fruitless siege of Tyre in the year 1111, as follows[5]:

Est autem Tyrus civitas in corde maris sita, in modum insulae circumsepta pelago, caput et metropolis provinciae Phoenicis, quae a rivo Valeniensi, usque ad Petram Incisam, Dorae conterminam[6], protenditur; infra sui ambitum, urbes suffraganeas continens quatuordecim.

In none of these instances cited is mention made of any settlement or fortress at Dor. Nothing is said concerning the town that could not be gathered from ancient literary sources. Benedict's statement[7] above to the effect that some of the towns he mentions were deserted or destroyed was quite probably true of Dor at this time. If a town named Dor had existed at this period we should certainly have expected some reference to the name in the account of Richard's march down the coast in 1191[8]. Apparently these historians of the Crusades knew of the existence and location of Dor, not from personal observation or through the accounts of those who had visited the place, but from ancient Biblical and geographical notices. We are, accordingly, uninformed regarding the real status of Dor at this time.

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[1] According to Conder (P.E.F., *Spec. Pap.*, p. 275), "The old name for Khirbet Dustrey, the outlying fort of 'Athlīt, is Petra Incisa (The Scarped Rock)." The name is probably derived from the passage through the rocky ridge near 'Athlīt.—See also the notes on geography in *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, p. XXVI.

[2] Also known as St. John of Tyre: Michelant et Raynaud, *Itinéraires Francais*, pp. 229 (Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre), 901 (Les Pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem).

[3] See below, pp. 117 f.

[4] *Recueil, l. c.*

[5] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, p. 482.

[6] Probably nearer 'Athlīt than Dor. There are a number of these passages through the ridge between Dor and 'Athlīt.

[7] P. 114.

[8] See below, pp. 116 ff.

At the end of the work by William of Tyre[1] there appears (very likely added by another hand) a list of the cities subject to the principality of Jerusalem. As in the earlier lists[2], Dor appears first among the cities under the archbishopric of Caesarea :

I Sedes Prima, Caesarea Maritima. Sub hac sede sunt episcopatus XIX
Dora
Antipatrida
Iamnias
Nicopolis, etc., etc.

This bare mention of the name "Dora" does not indicate that the city flourished at the time. Here, too, old lists doubtless formed the basis of the enumeration.

At the time of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), Richard marched along the coast with his army. After the capture of Acre (Summer 1191), he started toward Joppa. The route taken and the difficulties of the march are thus described by Geoffrey de Vinsauf[3]:

". . . . On a Wednesday, which was the third day after stopping at Cayphas (= Haifa), the army moved forward in order, the Templars leading the van, and the Hospitallers closing the rear, both of whom by their high bearing gave evidence of great valour. That day the army moved forward with more than wonted caution, and stopped after a long march, impeded by the thickets and the tall and luxuriant herbage, which struck them in the face, especially the foot soldiers. . . . . When the king had proceeded as far as Capernaum, which the Saracens had razed to the ground, he dismounted and took some food, the army, meanwhile, waiting; those who chose took food, and immediately after proceeded on their march to the house called 'of the narrow ways,'[4] because the road there becomes narrow; there they halted and pitched their tents. . . . . The army remained two days at the abovementioned station, where there was plenty of room for their camp, and waited there

[1] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part II, p. 1136.

[2] See pp. 101, 110 f.

[3] *Itinerarium Ricardi* (ed. T. Gale), IV, 12 ff.—English translation by H. G. Bohn, *Itinerary of Richard I*, Bk. IV, §§ 12–14.

[4] Or, "Casal of the Narrow Ways." ("Casam dictam angustarum viarum," in ed. T. Gale).

until the ships arrived which they were expecting; namely, barges and galleys, laden with provisions, of which they were in need; for these vessels were sailing in connection with the army along the shore, and carried their provisions on board. The army advanced, using all precaution against the Turks, who kept on their flank, to a town called Merla[1], where the king had spent one of the previous nights; there he had determined that he would lead the van himself the next day, on account of the obstacles in the way and because the Templars kept guard in the rear; for the Turks continually threatened them in a body on the flank . . . . The army, after accomplishing its march with great difficulty, arrived that day at Caesarea[2]."

The Capernaum mentioned above is strangely supposed by Conder[3] to be ancient Dor. He cites as authority for this identification Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled southward along the coast to Caesarea between 1166 and 1171. The passage in Benjamin reads[4]:

ומשם ארבע פרסאות לכפר נאום והוא כפר דנחום והוא מעון מקום נבל הכרמלי: ומשם ששה פרסאות לשיזיראה הוא גת אשר לפלשתים.

"From there (i.e., Haifa), it is four parasangs to Capernaum, which is the village of Nahum, identical with Maon, the place of Nabal the Carmelite[5]. And from there it is six parasangs to Caesarea, which is Gath of the Philistines."

Conder mistakenly understands the passage to indicate that the distance from *Haifa* (instead of from Capernaum!) to Caesarea is six parasangs. He therefore argues that the proportional distances of four and six parasangs from Haifa to Capernaum and Caesarea respectively, point to the identification of Capernaum with ancient Dor. Capernaum is more probably to be placed at

[1] Ed. T. Gale: "ad oppidum Mirlam dictum." According to Dr. Stubbs, this was on Aug. 30, 1191.

[2] The main body passed the night at the Crocodile River (Nahr el-Zerka), north of Caesarea.

[3] P.E.F., *Special Papers*, p. 275.

[4] M. N. Adler, *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, pp. לא f.

[5] Maon is, of course, contiguous to another Carmel situated in Judah (1 Sam. 25:2 ff.). Benjamin simply cites the faulty identification current in this region. So also in the case of Gath.

Al-Kunaisah[1] (the Little Church), a mound a few miles north of 'Athlīt[2]. This would fit the proportional distance given by Benjamin. William of Tyre[3] makes a clear distinction between the maritime cities of Capernaum and Dor. Conder's identification of the two is in any case absurd[4].

The "house of the narrow ways"[5] is probably near 'Athlīt[6]. The name arose from the rock-cut passages through the coast ridge; of these there are several between 'Athlīt and Dor[7]. The harbor at 'Athlīt would have made possible the landing of provisions. This identification is to be preferred to that of Conder, who wishes to identify the Casal (as well as Capernaum) with Dor. It is hardly probable that the heavily armored soldiers would have attempted to make the march of twenty miles to Dor in one day; more likely they encamped at 'Athlīt.

Concerning the location of the next place mentioned, viz. Merla (or Mirla or Merle), there is considerable doubt. If our identifications thus far have been correct, it must lie somewhere between 'Athlīt and Caesarea, the town next in order. The narrative here does not make clear whether it was on the coast or inland on the main road. Elsewhere, a Merle is spoken of as a fortress belonging to the Templars[8]. Among the fortresses of Palestine captured by Saladin after his defeat of King Guy, July 6, 1187, are included Castellum Merle Templi and Castellum de Planis[9]. Bohaeddin in his account of this march along the coast[10] gives the name as El-

[1] Or, Tell Kanīsah. See especially DeGoeje's note in his edition of Moḳaddasī, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III, p. 192, note *m*.

[2] Guy le Strange. *Pal. under the Moslems*, p. 477; Adler, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32; *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, p. LIV.

[3] Above, p. 115: "inter Capharnaum et Doram, oppida maritima."

[4] T. A. Archer, *Crusade of Richard I*, p. 376 (note F.).

[5] P. 116.

[6] Archer, *l.c.; Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (Rolls Series) p. 255; *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, pp. XXVI, LIV.

[7] Conder, P.E.F., *Spec. Papers*, p. 275; above p. 13.

[8] W. Stubbs, *Hist. Introd. to the Rolls Series* (ed. Hassell), p. 329.—In the Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre of the 13th or 14th cent. (Michelant et Reynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, p. 229), it is stated of "Chastiel Pelryn:" "e de près est Merle."

[9] *Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, by Benedict of Peterborough (Rolls Series), II, p. 23.

[10] *Recueil, Hist. Orient.*, III, pp. 246, 248; *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (Rolls Series), p. 255; Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, IV, p. 407.

Mellaha (الملاحة). Apparently the fortress at Merla had been destroyed by 1191, for there is no mention of a fortress there either in the Itinerarium or in Bohaeddin's Life of Saladin just mentioned.

Attempts have been made to identify Merla with Dor[1], and such an identification is not impossible. However, in view of the fact that Dor lies off the coast road, it may be better with Conder[2] to locate Merla at El-Mezra'a[3] between Dor and Caesarea, where a strong Crusading tower still remains in ruins beside the main road. Withal, we must still admit the possibility that the ruins at Dor (if they be of the Crusading period at all) are those of Merla. It seems almost certain, however, that *the fortress* was not standing when Richard passed through this region. Otherwise some reference to it would doubtless have been made.

Having arrived at Joppa, Richard issued orders to the army to rebuild the fortresses of Plans and Maen[4]. The Templars, while engaged in this work at Plans, were attacked by Turkish cavalry from Bombrac. King Richard, who was busy rebuilding Maen, heard of the tumult, and on his arrival succeeded in driving away the Turks.

Conder[5], again relying upon Benjamin of Tudela[6], identifies Maen with Capernaum, and therefore with Dor. Plans he places at Kalensawieh, situated about twenty miles from Dor and a like distance from Ibn Ibrak (=Bombrac). But the account of the proceedings in the Itinerary makes it clear that Maen and Plans are in the neighborhood of Joppa. Dor, which is nearly forty miles away, cannot possibly be meant. Dr. Stubbs[7] suggests that Plans is the village of Beit Dejan, five and one-half miles S.E. of Joppa, and that Maen is to be sought at Saferiyeh, seven miles S.E. of Joppa. These two towns are only one and one-half miles apart; this would make it easily possible for the king to rush quickly to the rescue of the attacked Templars. These identifications are

[1] *Recueil, Hist. Occident.*, I, Part I, p. LIV; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 130.

[2] P.E.F., *Spec. Pap.*, p. 275; Archer, *l.c.*; *S.W.P. Mem.*, II, p. 4.

[3] The similarity in the names is to be noticed.

[4] *Itin. of Richard I*, Bk. IV, §§ 29, 30 (Bohn's translation).

[5] P.E.F., *Spec. Pap.*, p. 277.

[6] See above, pp. 117 f.

[7] Archer, *Crusades of Richard I*, p. 176.

very probable ones; those of Capt. Conder are absolutely impossible.

The results of our investigation of the history of Dor during the Crusading period are negative. The references to the town under the old name Dora, we have concluded, are merely reminiscences of the earlier days of the city; in any case they supply no information. The identification of Capernaum and Maen with Dor have been shown to be impossible; that of the "house of the narrow ways," improbable. There is a possibility (though not a probability) that Merla represents ancient Dor. In our present inadequate knowledge of the Crusading period, with its confusion and constant change of names, it seems impossible to decide what there was on the site of Dor at this time. At some period the fort whose ruins still lie scattered about must have been occupied. A more exhaustive study of Crusading documents or the use of the spade on the spot may throw light upon the history of Dor during the Crusades.

The outstanding fact is that Dor (طنطورة) *is not mentioned at all* by the classical Arab geographers (i. e. during the 9th to the 12th centuries A. D.). Moreover, in their various enumerations of the cities and towns on the Syrian coast, or along the travelled roads in that region, they habitually "skip over" Dor in a way that shows that they know of no town there worth mentioning.

Thus, Ibn Khordādhbeh, in the first half of the 9th century, describes the maritime district of central Syria with mention of 'Akkā, Ḳadas, Tyre; Jaffa, Caesarea, Nābulus[1]. Similarly Ya'ḳūbī, at the close of the 9th century, mentions Tyre and 'Akkā, and then proceeds inland with his description; then returning to the coast he names Caesarea, Jaffa, and Jamnia[2].

Much more significant still is the fact that in the great geographical dictionary of Yāḳūt (about 1200 A. D.), as well as in that of Bekrī (latter part of the 11th century), Ṭanṭūra does not occur. Yāḳūt, in his article on قَصْرُ حَيْفَا, a fortress in the Ḥaifā region, has occasion to speak of the coast south of the latter city. Ḳaṣr Ḥaifā, he says, is "a place *between Ḥaifā and Caesarea*" (موضع بين حيفا وقيسارية). Obviously Caesarea was the first town south of the Carmel promontory known to this geographer's sources. Yāḳūt, it may be added, mentions 'Athlīt (عثليث) as a fortress which had been taken by Saladin in 583 A. H. (1187 A.D.).

The evidence gained from the Arab geographers, then, appears to be this, that between the 7th and 12th or 13th centuries the coast region between 'Akkā and Caesarea was only sparsely inhabited. The road along the shore was probably unsafe and little used.

Ḥaifā almost disappears from sight, from the 7th century down to 1100 A.D., when the town was besieged and taken by Tancred. The remark of Ibn Shaddād quoted by De Goeje, from a Leyden manuscript, in his edition of Ya'ḳūbī[3], is instructive. Ibn Shaddād has just noted the fact that both Ya'ḳūbī and Ibn Ḥauḳal omit to men-

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[1] *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* VI, Trans., pp. 57, 58.

[2] *Ibid.* VII, 327, 18 ff.; 329, 2 ff.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 327 f., note *e*.

tion Bāniās, apparently because it had only recently been restored and was only known as "modern" (مُحْدَثة); and then proceeds: ولم يذكر ابن ابى يعقوب ولا ابن حوقل حيفا وكأنها مُحدَثة ايضًا; "Nor do Ibn Abī Ya'ḳūb (i. e. al-Ya'ḳūbī) and Ibn Ḥauḳal mention Ḥaifā, presumably because it also was modern."

'Athlīt came into temporary prominence in the crusading period simply because of its very strong natural position. The Arab geographers before Yāḳūt do not mention it at all. As for Dor, it seems to have been nearly or quite deserted from the 7th century until after the third crusade (at least). Even Caesarea was reduced, during this same period, to a small and unimportant town. Thus Yāḳūt[1] says of it that it had once been an important city; "At present, however, it is not such, but is rather a village than a city:" وأمّا الآن فليست كذلك وهى بالقُرَى أشبه منها بالمدن.

[1] IV, 214, lines 3–6.

THE VISITS OF THE CHEVALIER D'ARVIEUX.

From about the year 1660 we have the reminiscences of a certain Chevalier d'Arvieux[1], who, in addition to looking after his own commercial interests, acted as a sort of French consul at Sidon[2]. On a trip from Sidon to Gaza, d'Arvieux stopped at Tartoura in order to arrange for permission for the Carmelite monks to return to their monastery on Mount Carmel. Having arranged this matter satisfactorily, he viewed the city. The translation of d'Arvieux's version of this visit into quaint eighteenth-century German is as follows[3]:

Man rechnet drei Meilen von dem Schlosse Pellegrin (='Athlīt) nach Tartoura. Wir stigen daselbst bei einem griechischen Christens, Namens Abou-Moussa, ab, und brachten die Nacht in einem Zimmer zu, wo wir gedachten, das uns die Flöhe auffressen würden. Weil wir bei guter Zeit alda anlangten, so ging ich alsobald mit dem Herrn Souribe nach dem Feldlager des Emir Turabey, um die Wiedereinsetzung derer Carmelitermönche in ihr Kloster auf dem Berge Carmel zu vermitteln. Sie waren, durch die Verfolgungen derer Araber, genöthiget gewesen, selbiges zu verlassen. Das Feldlager dieses Emirs war nur eine Viertelmeile von Tartoura entlegen. Wir wurden von diesem Fürsten, der sehr ehrbar war, recht wol empfangen, und er willigte sehr höflich in unser Begehren. Wir brachten den jährlichen Tribut in Richtigkeit, welchen diese Mönche zu geben pflegten, und sie kehrten wieder in ihr Kloster zurük.

Hiernächst kehrten wir wieder nach Tartoura, und hatten noch Zeit genug übrig, dasienige zu besehen, was in diesem kleinen Orte, der nur aus einer einzigem ziemlich grossen Strasse, die nach dem Meere hin gehet, angetroffen wird. Daselbst wird der Markt

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[1] Born 1635, died 1702.

[2] *Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, par C. R. P. Jean Baptiste Labat, Paris 1735, 6 vols. The only copy of this work in America is the one at Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. (so Meyer, *Gaza*, p. 105). This I have been unable to consult.

[3] *Des Herrn von Arvieux . . . . merkwürdige Nachrichten . . . . von dem Herrn Labat* (Kopenhagen und Leipzig, bei Johann B. Ackermann, 1754), Part II, pp. 11–13.

gehalten, wo die Araber ihre Räubereien, und die da herum wohnenden Bauren ihr Vieh & Früchte hinbringen, so sie gegen Reis & Leinwand vertauschen, welche die Egyptier in kleinen Fahrzeugen hinführen, weil der Hafen, oder eine Art von Hafen, der vor der Stadt ist, keine hinlängliche Tiefe hat, dass grössere Fahrzeuge einlaufen können. Die Einwohner haben keine Moscheen, sondern sie versamlen sich auf dem öffentlichen Platze, wo sie das Erdreich ohngefehr zwei Fus hoch erhöhet, und mit einer kleinen Mauer eingeschlossen haben. Alhier kommen sie in der Zeit ihrer Betstunden zusammen unter offenem Himmel. Ganz dicht darbei ist ein Kahue, welches das schönste Gebäude, und das am meisten daselbst besuchet wird. Der Name desselben zeuget zur Genüge von seiner Bestimmung. Jederman versamlet sich alda, Tabak zu rauchen, Kaffee zu trinken, und neue Zeitungen zu erzehlen oder zu hören.

Tartoura würde Mangel an gutem Wasser zum Trinken haben, wenn es nicht eine kleine Quelle auf einem Felsen, zwei Ruthen in das Meer hinaus, hätte, die aber bei der geringsten Aufwallung des Meers mit Wellen überschlagen wird. Man trift zwar andere Quellen an verschiedenen Orten daherum an, sie sind aber salzigt, und es ist eben diese kleine Klippe, die vom Meergewässer umzingelt wird, deren man an diesem Orte so oft benöthiget ist.

Die ganze, um diesen Ort liegende Gegend ist ziemlich unfruchtbar, blos und ohne Bäume. Das Erdreich träget nur Korn. Der Emir Turabey hat einen Pachter in Tartoura, der den Zoll, den Caffar, oder Wegezoll, nebst denen andern Abgaben eintreibet, die in diesem Flecken beim Ein= und Ausgang müssen entrichtet werden. Der Herrn Souribe hatte mit dem Abou-Moussa einige Geschäfte abzuthun, welche uns fast den ganzen Vormittag des folgenden Tages aufhielten; also, dass wir erst nach einem des Mittags eingenommenen Frühstücke uns auf den Weg nach Cäsarea machten, welches nur vier Meilen davon entlegen ist.

Again in 1664 d'Arvieux pays another visit to Tartoura. At this time the shipwreck of a Greek ship, with a wine-banquet of the native rulers following thereupon, furnishes our author with materials for a vivid picture of native manners and customs[1]:

Tartoura ist ein kleiner unter die Herschaft des Emir Turabey gehöriger Hafen. Wir waren kaum daselbst angelanget, als bei

[1] *Op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 75–82.

dem ungestümen Wetter ein grosses griechisches Fahrzeug auf denen Sandbänken strandete. Es war mit cyprischem Weine und Käse beladen, und nach Egypten bestimt. Sobald es veste sas, ward es in wenig Minuten von denen Wellen zerschlagen, und die ganze Manschaft flüchtete ans Land. Der Käse blieb im Meere liegen, die Weinfässer aber rolten mit denen Wellen fort. Der Emir Dervik, welcher den Schifbruch von dem Gebirge herab gesehen hatte, eilte mit einem Theile seiner Reuterei und einigen Bedienten des Grosemirs herbei, welche mit Plünderung derer Matrosen und Reisenden den Anfang machten, und durch die Araber die zerscheiterten Stüke des Fahrzeuges, nebst allem, was das Meer landwärts trieb, herausziehen liessen. Als sich der Schiffer mit allen seinen Leuten nakend entkleidet sahe, verbargen sie sich im Gesträuche, und erwarteten der Nacht, um sich nach dem nächsten Dorfe zu begeben, damit sie etwas zu ihrer Bedekung bekommen könten. Ich tröstete sie über ihren gehabten Verlust, und sagte ihnen, dass ich ein Christ sey, und bei denen Arabern in einigem Ansehen stünde; daher wolte ich suchen, ihnen Dienste zu leisten. Sie waren sehr froh, dass sie mich angetroffen, und mich ihre Sprache, die gemeine griechische, reden hörten. Ich that ihnen den Vorschlag, dass sie das, was aus dem Meere könte gerettet werden, solten herausziehen helfen, so wolte ich machen, dass ihnen etwas wiedergegeben würde. Ich machte, das der Emir solches gut aufnahm, und mir versprach, sie zu befriedigen.

Als sich nun diese armen Matrosen, die Gewaltsamkeit derer Wellen ohngeachtet, so die Kaufmansgüter ans Land warfen, und nachher wieder in die weite See zurük zogen, ins Meer geworfen hatten, retteten sie viele Sachen. Man konte das Zerschlagen derer Tonnen nicht verwehren; sie vermogten nur zwei davon zu retten, und die brachten sie mit vieler Mühe ans Land. Die Araber hatten einige Käse aufgefischet: da sagte ich im Scherz zu ihnen, sie wären aus Saumilch gemacht, alsobald warfen sie selbige hin, wuschen sich die Hände, und die Griechen benüzten sich ihrer. Es fing an, spät zu werden, und das Meer war so ungestüm, dass die Matrosen nicht mehr arbeiten konten. Ich bat den Emir, ihnen ihre Kleider wiedergeben zu lassen. Er gab deshalb Befehl, und die Araber stelten ihnen den grösten Theil dererselben wieder zu; weil der Emir aber in Tartoura unter Zelten schlafen wolte, die er hatte aufschlagen lassen, so machte ich ihnen

Hofnung, noch etwas für sie zu erhalten: ich gab ihnen den Rath, zu warten, bis er zu Abends abgespeiset hätte, damit sie ihn bei munterem Gemüthe antreffen mögten. Der Emir befahl, dass man ihm die Abendmahlzeit zubereiten solte: nichts war seinen Bedienten leichter, denn alle in dem Dorfe befindliche Leute hatten ihm Geschenke von Fleisch, Vogelwild, Wildpret, Früchten und Kaffee gebracht, niemand aber hatte an Wein gedacht; ich fand zwei Krüge voll bei einem Griechen des Dorfes, Namens Abou Moussa, welche ich dem Emir durch diese arme Matrosen überreichen lies. Der Fürst nahm sie mit Vergnügen an. Wir sezten uns an Tafel: ich gab denen Griechen ein Zeichen, sich aussen vor dem Zelte aufzuhalten und zu warten, bis ich sie hinein führen liesse; unterdessen wurde ihnen zu essen gereicht.

Die Mahlzeit war gros, währete lange. Es waren viele Araber, die keinen Wein trunken, daher der Emir, ich, und vier bis fünfe von seinen Bedienten genug daran hatten. Man trug die Schaalen in der Runde herum, man sang gut und schlecht, und dieser Landzeitvertreib war vergnüglich. Nun glaubte ich, dass es gelegene Zeit sey, die Griechen herein kommen zu lassen; daher lies ich sie rufen; sie kamen Haufenweise herein, küsten die Weste des Emirs, und begaben sich zur Seite. Der Fürst frug mich, ob man ihnen nicht ihre Kleider wiedergegeben hätte, und ob sie noch sonst etwas verlangten? Ich antwortete ihm: seine Befehle wären sehr genau volzogen worden, weil aber diese armen Leute durch den Verlust ihres Fahrzeuges und ihrer Kaufmansgüter zu Grunde gerichtet worden, so fleheten sie um die durch den Schifbruch zerscheiterten Stüke, so sie auffischen könten, die nicht beträchtlich wären, und ihnen doch dienen könten, sich wieder nach ihrer Heimat zu begeben, und ihren elenden Familien unter die Arme zu greifen. Diejenigen aus der Geselschaft, welche daraus Nutzen zu ziehen wünschten, sezten sich dagegen; der Emir aber bewilligte ihnen selbige, nach einiger Ueberlegung, und befahl auf der Stelle, dass man ihnen alles, bis auf einen Nagel, solte wegnehmen lassen. Mehr wurde darzu nich erfordert. Die Griechen küsten ihm zur völligen Danksagung den Saum der Weste, und machten sich alsobald fort, um an Auffischung dessen, was das Meer auf die Küste warf, zu arbeiten, in der Hofnung, das übrige des folgenden Tages zu verrichten; denn, weil der Wind gefallen war, so muste das Meer ruhiger werden, der Emir auch mit allen denen, die sie hätten verhindern können, aufbrechen solte.

Ich stund mit Anbruche des Tages auf, lies zwei Schlitten machen, um die zwei Fässer Wein auf das Gebirge zu schaffen: vor einen ieden Schlitten lies ich drei Paar Ochsen spannen, und die Fässer wol bevestigen. sagte auch zum Emir, dass ich die Fortschaffung besorgen wolte, damit sich kein Zufal dabei ereignen mögte. Ich nahm alle die Bauren, die ich darzu nöthig zu seyn erachtete, und wir machten uns auf den Weg. Die Ochsen gingen so langsam, und unsere Bauren waren zu dergleichen Arbeit so wenig aufgelegt, dass wir erst um sechs Uhr des Abends in dem Lager des Emir Dervik anlangten. Der Emir war so vergnügt, seine zwei Tonnen gesund und wol behalten zu seinem Hoflager gebracht zu sehen, dass er denen Bauren grosmüthig für ihre Mühe eine Vergeltung gab, und augenbliks Boten an alle die Emirs abfertigte, von denen er wuste, dass sie sich über das Verbot des Weintrinkens kein grosses Gewissen machten, um ihnen zu berichten, dass er zwei grosse Tonnen davon in seiner Wohnung habe, und sie zur Theilnehmung daran einzuladen. Sie liessen ihm zurük sagen, sie hätten es schon erfahren und sich, ihn zu besuchen, auch die Nacht mit ihm in seinem Lager zuzubringen, angeschikt, daher möge er sich nur fertig machen sie wol zu empfangen, und herrlich zu bewirthen.

Der Emir Dervik, als der iüngste von allen diesen Fürsten, empfing diese Zeitung mit einer ungemeinen Freude. Er war über diese Gelegenheit erfreuet, ihnen Zeichen seiner Freundschaft zu geben. Daher stelte er Befehle zu einem Feste aus, und alsobald sahe man im ganzen Lager ein volkommenes Schlachten und Rösten von Ochsen, Hameln, iungen Ziegen, Vogelwild und Wildpret. Viele Zelte waren mit Weibespersonen angefüllet, welche mit Zurichtung derer Suppen, gewürzter Speisen, Bakwerk, Früchten und Zukergebakenem beschäftiget waren. Ich nahm die Aufsicht des Weins über mich, der nicht sonderlich klar war, diese Leute aber fragen wenig darnach. Es war fürtreflicher cyprischer Wein. Ich lies die beiden Tonnen in das grosse Festgezelt an einem Orte hinlegen, wo sie niemanden im Wege waren. Ich stelte einen von meinen Leuten zu ieder Tonne, und als ich in meinem Schreibezeuge einige neue Federn fand, machte ich Kleine Röhren daraus, um den Wein abzuzapfen, und die Schaalen zu füllen, welche von denen Bedienten rund herum denen Gästen zugebracht wurden. Ich wolte dem Emir zeigen, wie man bei denen Franzosen das Fleisch brätet. In Ermangelung eines Bratspiesses, nahm einer

von meinen Leuten eine alte Lanze, machte einen Handgrif daran, und stekte einen grossen Mürbebraten darauf, nebst einem Hamelsviertheil und Vogelwild, lies sie nach unserer Weise braten, und auftragen. Ich zerlegte diesen Braten und reichte ihn herum; und diese Fürsten gestunden, dass unsere Weise, Fleisch zu braten, besser als die ihrige, sey, weil unser Fleisch seinen Saft behält, da hingegen das ihrige troken, fast verbrant und unschmakhaft war.

Wir hatten keine Flaschen, weil diese bei denen Arabern nicht gebräuchlich sind, man schenkte aber die Schaalen wieder voll, ie nachdem sie ausgeleeret wurden. Alle eingeladene Emirs langten zusammen an, und nach denen Höflichkeitsbezeigungen, denen Umarmungen, dem Bart-und Händeküssen, ie nachdem es der Gebrauch und die Würde derer Personen erforderte, sezte man sich auf Matten nieder. Die Emirs hatten samtene küssen, die andern hatten keine, und sassen mit gekreuzten Füssen, wie unsere Schneider. Nach einer ziemlich kurzen Unterredung legten die Eingeladene ihre grossen Schnupftücher, die sie an statt derer Tellertücher gebrauchten, vor sich, ihre Kleider zu verwahren, und man trug grosse kupferne verzinte Beken mit gebratenem, gekochtem Fleische und gewürzten Speisen auf. Die Suppen waren überflüssig, und von verschiedenen Arten. Das hiernächst aufgesezte Bakwerk war wol gerathen. Der Braten, welcher zur lezten Tracht verwahret wurde, dienete zu Zwischengerichten, und man fand ihn gut. Hierauf kam die Frucht. Alle Gäste speiseten mit grossem Appetite. Man trug neue Schüsseln auf, ie nachdem einige ausgeleeret waren, oder die Emirs selbige ihren Leuten geschikt hatten, welche Rottenweise geordnet waren, und mit eben so grossem Appetite, als ihre Herren, assen. Die Schaalen gingen rund herum, und der Wein verbreitete die Freude über alle Eingeladene. Die Schalmeien, Violinen, Trompeten und Trommeln machten eine Musik, die man sehr weit hören konte. Sie spielten bisweilen besonders, und zuweilen alle mit einander. Ihre schmachtende Stükchen machten unsere Trinker ganz entzükt; sie sassen nachsinnend mit ihren Schaalen in denen Händen, weinten aus Zärtlichkeit, umarmten sich, küsten einander den Bart, und gaben sich die zärtlichsten Versicherungen von der Welt. Die Mahlzeit währete so lange, dass man erst nach Mitternacht um drei Uhr von der Tafel aufstunde. Alsdenn legten sich diejenige, so des Schlafes benöthiget waren, auf Matratzen und Küssen, womit die Matte, welche auf dem Fusboden lag, bedekt war. Die ersten,

so des Morgens gegen zehen Uhr erwachten, riefen die andern. Ich rieth ihnen, Kaffee mit Milche zu trinken, den meine Leute zubereiten musten, und hierdurch erwies ich ihnen einem Dienst, dessen sie höchlich benöthiget waren: denn die meisten hatten Kopfschmerzen. Nach dem Kaffeetrinken und einem kurzen Spazirgange sezte man sich zur Tafel, und fing auf neue Unkosten wieder zu essen und zu trinken an; diese Uebung ward drittehalb Tage wiederholet, nehmlich so lange, als der Wein währete, und da schieden sie, in Erwartung, dass anderer kommen solte, als die besten Freunde von der Welt auseinander.

Bei diesem langen Feste bemerkte ich zwei Dinge, die mir Vergnügen erwekten. Erstlich, dass diese Leute, die gemeiniglich sehr mäsig leben, auch eine so grosse Beschwerlichkeit ertragen konten, als die bei diesem langen Gastmahle war, ohne dass man es an ihnen durch die Zeichen abnehmen konte, die gemeiniglich der Schwelgerei folgen. Zweitens, dass unter so vielen Leuten, die diese lange Mahlzeit hindurch überflüssig Wein trunken, sich nicht die geringste Unordnung äusserte: man hörte nicht das geringste Stichelwort, noch den geringsten Vorwurf. Hingegen blieben sie in ihrer Ernsthaftigkeit, und der Wein machte sie nur ein wenig munterer, lustiger, zwar ein wenig freier, aber ohne die Schranken der Höflichkeit, des ganzen Wolstandes und der Achtung, die sie einander schuldig waren, zu überschreiten; daher sie mit tausend derer zärtlichsten Freundschaftsbezeugungen und allen Höflichkeiten, die man von Leuten ihres Standes erwarten konte, von einander schieden.

LATER VISITORS AT DOR.

After the Chevalier d' Arvieux, the first explorer to visit Ṭanṭūra whose writings we possess was Richard Pococke[1]. In the year 1737, accompanied by a retinue sent along with him by the sheik at 'Athlīt, Pococke reached "Tortura." This he describes as a small village with a port to the south into which large boats are sometimes forced to put by stress of weather; on such occasions passengers are forced to pay a tax of nine shillings a head. The sheik at Ṭanṭūra received him and his companions with great civility. Having visited Caesarea, Pococke on his return travelled along the road a half mile to the east of Ṭanṭūra intending to pass by it. The sheik, however, sent some of his people in pursuit of Pococke with an urgent invitation to dine with him. For fear of giving offense, Pococke returned and accepted his invitation.

On the 14th of January, 1816, "Tartoura" was visited by J. S. Buckingham[2]. At that time there were forty or fifty dwellings and perhaps 500 Mohammedan inhabitants in the town. Buckingham cites Father Julio of Mt. Carmel as authority for the statement that the ruined tower at Ṭanṭūra was for some unknown reason called by the Franks the "Accursed Tower." The Arabs, he says, called it merely "Khallat-el-Ateek" (the Old Castle). During supper he was in characteristic fashion questioned as to his destination and business by the elders of the village. "They eagerly inquired after Bonaparte, whom they all knew"[3]. On awaking the following morning Buckingham discovered that all the remaining provisions had been stolen from the baskets during the night.

Irby and Mangles[4] passed through "Tortura" on October 15th, 1817. They characterize the extensive ruins here as possessing nothing of interest.

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[1] *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (London, 1745), II, p. 57.

[2] *Travels in Palestine*, etc. (London, 1822), p. 123.

[3] Napoleon passed along the shore road on his way to the disastrous engagement at Acre.

[4] *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land* (1844), p. 59.

In the month of May, 1843, John Wilson[1] found a "few wretched houses" at Ṭanṭurah.

C. W. M. van de Velde[2] visited Tantūra in 1851. He calls particular attention to the ridge of rock east of Dor, which served as a protection against attack from that direction. The outrageous prices charged by the natives created considerable difficulty, until Dr. Kalley (van de Velde's companion) packed up his medicine bag with a threat to treat no more patients. The inhabitants then became open to reason.

The first thorough-going description of the ruins at Dor was that of (Hugo) Victor Guérin[3], who visited and described the site in 1870. The results of his observations have been employed in the chapter above on the "Topography of Dor." At the time of Guérin's visit "Tantoura" possessed two mosques[4], one of them partially demolished.

Still more thorough and complete was the survey made by the Palestine Exploration Fund[5] on the 8th of March, 1873. The accurate maps, plans, pictures and descriptions issued by the Fund constitute our principal authority for the description of the ruins at Dor. Additions to the information contained in this report have appeared in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly[6].

Ṭanṭūra lies off the usual tourist routes near unhealthful swamps, and is therefore seldom visited. Beside a few illustrations accompanying some of the descriptions mentioned above[7], it has been impossible to obtain satisfactory pictures of the site. A renewed examination of the ruins would doubtless yield interesting additions to our information concerning ancient and mediaeval Dor. It is to be hoped that such an examination will be made before all the material has been removed or destroyed.

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[1] *The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described* (Edinburgh 1857), II, p. 249.

[2] *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852* (Edinb. and London, 1854), I, p. 333.

[3] *Description de la Palestine*, II Partie—Samarie—(Paris, 1874–75), 2 : 305 f.

[4] When Buckingham (see above) visited Ṭanṭūra in 1816 the town was without a mosque.

[5] *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs of the Topography*, etc. (London, 1881–83), II, pp. 3 ff.

[6] 1887, p. 181 ; 1895, p. 113 (Reports by Dr. G. Schumacher).

[7] *S. W. P. Mem.* II, pp. 10 ff.; *P.E.F.Q.*, (1887), p. 84 ; Wilson, *Piel. Pal.*, III, p. 105.

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New Spiders from New England.

Eleventh Paper.

Since my last paper in these Transactions in 1913 several new species of spiders have been found in New England and are here described and named. *Theridion aurantium* has been known as a variety of *T. sexpunctatum,* with which it is often found. *Tetragnatha pinicola* has also been long known but has been considered a variety of *T. laboriosa. Linyphia limitanca,* a large and distinct species, was discovered simultaneously, in 1913, in Aroostook County, Maine, and in Newfoundland and may be a common spider north and east of New England. *Dictyna armata* is new to New England, having been found only in North Carolina by Banks. The other three new *Dictyna* have come from a general rearrangement of this genus. *D. brevitarsus* has been confused with *D. muraria* under the name *D. sublata* Hentz. *D. bicornis* is a distinct species found at several points along the seashore. *D. angulata* is a small species, related to *muraria,* found in the hills south of Boston. *Tmeticus rectangulatus* is another of the indistinct species allied to *T. entomologicus. Theridion sexpunctatum* is found to range across North America and to be as variable as other species of the Phyllonethis group. The variety of *Epeira labyrinthea* is very distinct in markings and spinning habits corresponding with its different habitat. The male of *Hahnia brunnea* and the new species *Theridion intervallatum* and *Sergiolus unimaculatus* are chance discoveries from much beating of bushes and sifting of litter on the ground.

Theridion intervallatum. new sp.

Male 1.5 mm. long. Abdomen nearly spherical and half larger than the cephalothorax. The cephalothorax is slightly yellow with an indefinite middle line between the eyes and the dorsal groove. The back of the abdomen is light at the sides and has a darker pattern in the middle consisting of four pairs of dark spots between which are opaque white spots and fine black dots of different sizes. On the under side the abdomen is dark at the sides and light in the middle. The sternum is light like the back of the cephalothorax. The legs are marked with small and irregular black spots near the ends and middle of each joint. The male palpi have the tarsus and palpal organ narrow with the tarsus twice as long as wide. At the end of the tarsus are a few stiff hairs twice as thick as the others. The palpal organ has the appendages small and simple, with the tube and two other processes lying side by side, pointing toward the end of the palpus. Figs. 1, 1a, 1b. Pl. I.

Intervale, N. H., July, 1913, Miss E. B. Bryant.

Theridion aurantium. new sp.

Female 3 mm. long; cephalothorax 1 mm. Male with cephalothorax as long as in the female, but much smaller abdomen. The cephalothorax is orange in both sexes, without any middle or lateral stripe, rarely in females dark gray. The legs are pale yellow in females and orange in males. The first leg of the male is two and a half times the length of the whole body. The abdomen of the female is commonly light gray with opaque white markings at the sides and in pairs along the middle. Black spots may also occur in one or more pairs, and in some individuals cover nearly the whole abdomen. Fig. 2, 2a. Pl. I. In males the abdomen is commonly pale, with a pair of black spots at the sides toward the hinder end, and these spots may be lengthened into a pair of stripes, or the whole back may be black. Fig. 2b, 2c, 2d. Pl. I. The mandibles of the male are so long that with the height of the head they are as long as the cephalothorax. They are not

much spread apart at the end, and have a thick tooth half as long as their diameter, only a short distance from the claw. In some individuals there is a smaller tooth between the large one and the end of the mandible, but it varies in size and position, and is often absent on one or both sides. Fig. 2e. Pl. I. The mandibles are shorter and less divergent than in *sexpunctatus,* and less variable. The palpi of the male resemble closely those of *sexpunctatus.*

This species is swept from low bushes or sifted from dead leaves on the ground. Crawford Notch, Franconia Notch, Adirondacks, Aroostook County, Maine, Maine Woods, south to Portland, Maine, and Manchester, N. H., often in company with *T. sexpunctatum,* with which species it has been usually confused.

Theridion sexpunctatum. Em.

This species is now known across the continent to the Rocky Mountains, Vancouver and Sitka. The long mandibles of the male are found to vary in length and shape but without any relation to locality. The male mandible always has a large tooth on the inner side just beyond the end of the maxillae and the variable part is the distal end beyond this tooth. Sometimes this is as long as the basal part and tapering and divergent and it then has three or four teeth differing in size, position and number sometimes differing on opposite mandibles of the same individual. In others the distal part of the mandible is half as long as the basal and the teeth are very small. In others the distal part is still smaller. One from Sitka in the collection of Nathan Banks has mandibles like this but still shorter. Figs 3, 3a, 3b. Pl. I.

Tmeticus rectangulatus. new sp.

A translucent spider 1.5 mm. long, resembling *T. entomologicus* from Tyngsboro, Mass., 1911; *T. digitatus,* Em., from Ithaca, N. Y., Journal N. Y. Ent. Soc., 1914, and *T. acummatus,* Em., from New Jersey, Bulletin Am. Museum, N. Y., 1913. It differs from these species in the tibia of the male palpus, which is truncate and has three small teeth across the end. Fig. 4. Pl. I.

One male each from Mt. Mansfield, Vt., and Brunswick, Me.

Linyphia limitanea. new sp.

3.5 mm. long. Cephalothorax pale dull yellow with the edges darker and a dark band from the eyes backward to the dorsal

groove. The legs are yellow, darker at the ends of the joints. The abdomen is pale, with a dark middle band divided into segments, the anterior one usually darker and the second lighter than the others. The sternum and under side of abdomen are yellow brown like the dorsal markings. The epigynum is covered by a slightly convex plate, twice as wide as long, and straight at the posterior edge through which the openings show as dark spots. The males have longer legs and darker coloring than the females. The male palpi have on the patella a long process somewhat like that of *L. phrygiana*. but longer and sharper and more curved inward at the tip. Fig. 5. Pl. I.

Found in a grove of spruce trees at Fort Fairfield, Me., Aug., 1913, and July, 1914, and by Miss E. M. Esterbrook at Stevensville Crossing, Newfoundland. Webs like those of *L. phrygiana*.

Epeira labyrinthea, Hentz, Bog variety.

This variety was found on the upper part of Mt. Lincoln, Colo., by F. C. Bowditch in 1877. In 1902, H. C. Britcher found it at Lunksoos, east of Mt. Katahdin, Me. My first acquaintance with it was in August, 1913, on the bog at Crystal, Me., where I found an old female with nests and eggs. The next year, July, 1914, I visited the same bog earlier in the season, and found both sexes. On this bog these spiders live in the stiff narrow-leaved grass, *Scirpus caespitosus,* growing about a foot high over the open parts of the bog. In July their nests are small, attached to two or three grass leaves drawn together, and differing from the typical labyrinthea nest only in having around it a smaller "labyrinth." At this time males have nests like the females. In August, after the females have laid eggs, the nests are enlarged and improved, and hang down from the bunch of grass leaves, held in place by strong threads extending in several directions to other leaves, often three or four inches distant. In the typical bush nest of labyrinthea (see photograph in Comstock's Spider Book, pages 464-465), the egg cocoons are attached outside the nest, sometimes partly united with it, but in the bog variety the cocoons are enclosed in the upper part of the nest, forming a cone of light brown silk on the outside of which are scattered lumps composed of the remains of insects and sometimes leaves from neighboring plants.

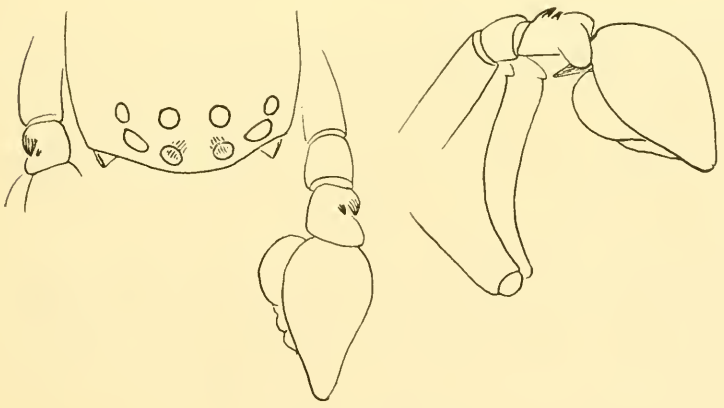
This variety differs from the usual labyrinthea in its deeper color and greater contrasts between the black and white markings.

The four white spots on the front of the abdomen are much larger and closely united into a light spot covering the whole front half of the back, while the markings of the hinder half unite into an equally conspicuous black spot. The dark markings of the legs are blacker and more sharply defined. These peculiarities are most evident in old females and least in males, which follow more closely the usual markings of the species. Figs. 6, 6a, 6b. Pl. I.

Tetragnatha pinicola. new sp.

This species resembles *laboriosa,* but is colored bright green with white stripes at the sides, and a red spot at the front end of the abdomen, sometimes continued as a red line on each side close to the white stripes. Immature individuals found at various times have been considered a green variety of *T. laboriosa,* but several adults, including one male, found on pines at Nantucket, in company with *laboriosa,* show several differences beside the color. The palpi of the male have the tibia half longer than the patella, and the tarsus and palpal organ are larger than in *laboriosa.* The legs are also longer than those of *laboriosa,* leg I being about one one-sixth longer. This is true of females as well as males. The arrangement of the eyes is as in *laboriosa,* the lateral eyes being perhaps a little closer together. Figs. 7, 7a. Pl. I.

Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, Mass., on pine trees.



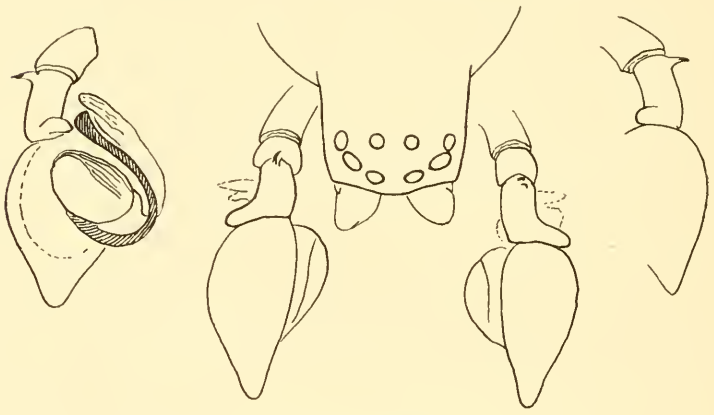
Dictyna brevitarsus

Dictyna brevitarsus. new sp.

2 mm. long and usually dark in color. The cephalothorax brown, darkest on the head. The legs the same color as thorax, but lighter, and the palpi darker. The abdomen is marked like *muraria*, with the middle mark of the front end distinct and less broken into spots than usual.

The mandibles of the male have a slight tooth at the base. The male palpi are of middle size, with the tarsus and tibia together as long as the mandible. The tibia is as wide as long, a little widened at the end. The two-spined process is at the side and directed forward. Figures page 139.

Danvers, Mass., Mt. Washington Glen, Ithaca, N. Y.



Dictyna angulata

Dictyna angulata. new sp.

2 mm. long; males and females the same size and colored alike. The general color is pale dull yellow, covered with light gray hairs. The legs are pale with no markings. The cephalothorax is yellow brown, lightest on the head. The abdomen has the usual middle gray mark, most distinct on the front half, dwindling to a fine line behind where it is more or less connected with a double row of partly united spots.

The male palpi are large, the tarsus as long as the mandibles. The tibia is a little longer than wide, and at the distal end as wide as it is long. The two-spined process is not more than a fourth as long as the tarsus, and on the upper side close to the base. Figures above.

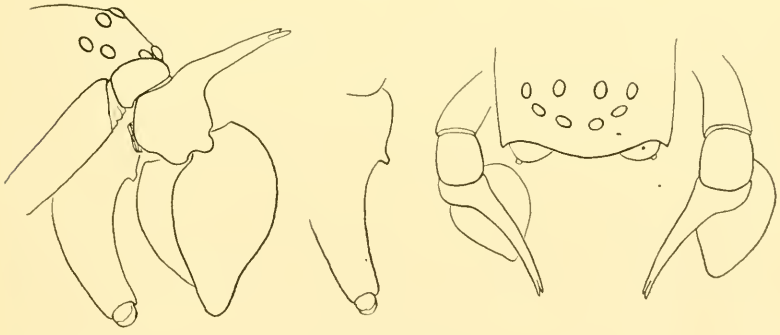
Hyde Park, Mass., in leaves on the ground.

Dictyna bicornis

Dictyna bicornis. new sp.

2 mm. long. Pale; cephalothorax yellow brown; abdomen slightly marked with a few pale gray spots. The mandibles have a large tooth on the front. This tooth, which occurs as a very small point near the base in several species, here extends downward and is half as long as the claw of the mandible. The male palpi have the tibia and tarsus together as long as the mandible. The tibia is as wide as long and widened at the end on the outer side. The two spines near the base are sessile, one longer than the other. Figures above.

In plants on sandy shores at Ipswich, Mass., Ogunquit, Me., and Bayville, Long Island, N. Y., Banks Collection.



Dictyna armata

Dictyna armata, Banks. Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci., Phila., June, 1911.

Male 2 mm. long. Legs pale and translucent. Cephalothorax pale, a little darkened at the sides. Abdomen faintly marked with gray. The general appearance suggests a small *D. frondea.* The male palpi have a long spur on the tibia, extending forward at right angle to the tibia. The mandibles have a very small blunt

tooth on the front, a third its length from the base of the mandible, Figures page 141.

Blue Hills, near Boston, in dry oak leaves. Banks found it in North Carolina in rolled leaves of Rhododendron lying on the ground.

Hahnia brunnea, Em. 1909.

The male of this species was found at Island Falls, Aroostook County, Maine, July, 1914, in moss in spruce woods. It resembles the female closely in size and color and in the spinnerets. The male palpi are large and differ conspicuously from those of the other species. The appendage of the tibia is large and in a flat coil on the outer side. The patella is large and thick on the upper side, and has no appendage, but the femur has a tooth on the outer side near the base turned upward and curved slightly inward. The tube is long enough to make two turns around the palpal organ. Figs. 8, 8a. Pl. I.

Several females were found in 1911 at Ithaca, N. Y.

Sergiolus unimaculatus.

Male 5 mm. long. Half as large as *S. variegatus* and more slender. The legs and cephalothorax are dull yellow without any markings. The abdomen is gray with a pale band across the middle. On the front end of the abdomen is a thickened spot narrowed behind and extending across the white band. Fig 9, Pl. I. On the under side the abdomen is dark gray at the end fading to pale toward the front like the under side of the legs, sternum maxillae and mandibles. The male palpi resemble closely those of *variegatus* but the process of the tibia is shorter, more sharply pointed and narrows more regularly from the base. Fig. 9b, Pl. I. The palpal organ is proportionally smaller but resembles that of *variegatus*. An immature female found at the same time resembles the male in color and form.

Lyme, Conn., from a damp field near the shore, Oct. 5, 1912.

PLATE I

1 Theridion intervallatum, markings of abdomen. 1a side of male. 1b male palpus, outer side. 1c male palpus from above.

2 Theridion aurantium. 2 and 2a two variations of marking of female. 2b, 2c, 2d variations of markings of males. 2e mandibles of male, 2f male palpus.

3 Theridion sexpunctatum, mandibles of a male from Crawford Notch. 3a mandible of male from Moosilauke. 3b mandible of male from Crawford Notch.

4 Tmeticus rectangulatus, head and palpi of male.

5 Linyphia limitanea, dorsal markings of female. 5a epigynum, 5b, 5c male palpus.

6 Epeira labyrinthea, usual markings of female. 6a male of bog variety. 6b female of bog variety. 6c nest from the bog at Crystal, Me.

7 Tetragnatha pinicola, side of male showing markings and length of legs and palpi. 7a arrangement of eyes.

8 Hahnia brunnea, head and palpi of male from above. 8a male palpus from side.

9 Sergiolus unimaculatus, back of male. 9a under side of male. 9b tibia and tarsus of male palpus. 9c palpal organ.

PLATE I

1
1a
1b
1c
2f
3
2
2a
2e
3a
3b
5c
2b
2c
2d
5b
4
5
7
5a
8a
7a
6a
6c
9b
9
6
6b
9c
8
9a

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New England Spiders of the Family Epeiridae. VI, pp. 295-342, pl. 33-40, Sept., 1884.

New England Lycosidae. VI, pp. 481-505, June, 1885.

New England Spiders of the family Ciniflonidae. VII, pp. 443-458, pl. 9-11, July, 1888.

New England Spiders of the Families Drassidae, Agalenidae and Dysderidae. VIII, pp. 166-206, pl. 3-8, Kan., 1890.

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New England Spiders of the Family Thromsidae. VIII, pp. 359-381, pl. 28-32, June, 1892.

Supplement to the New England Spiders. XIV, pp. 171-236, 12 pl., Jan. 1909.

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New England Spiders Identified since 1910, XVIII, pp. 209-24, 2 pl., Oct., 1913.

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THE TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR CO.

New Canadian Spiders.

Second Paper.

The following paper is a continuation of one published in these Transactions in 1894 and like that is a description of a number of new species from various parts of Canada and from several collectors. The writer has made collections in the Rocky Mountains and across western Canada in two visits in 1905 and 1914. Mr. N. B. Sanson of the Banff Museum has made a small collection from the neighborhood of Banff. On the eastern side of Canada Dr. C. W. Townsend and Miss E. M. Esterbrook of Boston and Messrs. Leng and Englehart of New York have collected in Labrador and Newfoundland. In Maine and New Hampshire several species have been discovered known before only in western Canada. Several species are found to range across Canada from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast and many others are known in the Rocky Mountains and on the eastern coast without the connection between them having been discovered. *Tmeticus armatus,* Banks, described originally from Manitoba, is now known both in the Rocky Mountains and in Maine and New Hampshire. *Lophocarenum alpinum* of the White Mountains has been found at Banff. *Theridion zelotypum,* common in Maine, has been traced westward from Lake Superior in bogs along the edge of the spruce forest to the headwaters of the Athabasca River in the Rocky Mountains. *Linyphia nearctica,* (*humilis*) described from Laggan, is known to live all over eastern Maine and on the tops of the White Mountains and Green Mountains in New Hampshire and Vermont. *Theridion sexpunctatum* has been found at several points across Canada to Vancouver and Sitka on the west coast.

Theridion zelotypum, Emerton, Trans. Conn. Acad., 1882.

This species is now known all over Maine from Casco Bay to Fort Kent on the northern boundary, but has not yet been found south or west of Casco Bay. It was not found in a week's collecting around the Mt. Washington Glen from 1500 feet to the mountain top. Its westward range has been extended from Winnipeg to Prince Albert, Athabasca Landing and Jasper, Alberta, 4000 feet high in the Rocky Mountains on the headwaters of the Athabasca River. At all these places it lives as in Maine on low branches of spruce trees in open situations, but always near water or in bogs. All those found at Jasper and part of those at Athabasca Landing had the dorsal markings in a different pattern from those commonly found farther east. In these spiders the usual herring-bone middle stripe is entirely absent and the darker markings at the sides form two rows of spots with white lines behind them, in some cases entirely across the back. Fig. 1a. Pl. II. This species was not found on the prairie at Saskatoon or Edmonton, nor in the mountains around Banff or Laggan, nor in the Yoho Valley.

Theridion sexpunctatum, Emerton, Trans. Conn. Acad., 1882.

This species is now known across the continent from Maine to the Rocky Mountains, Vancouver and Sitka. The markings are usually very uniform, the thorax striped and margined with dark gray, and the abdomen marked with six or eight white spots in pairs on larger gray areas of irregular shape; but among some collected at Vancouver there are great variations, one female having the gray areas on the abdomen absent and the white spots without any regular arrangement, while another has the front half of the abdomen covered with a large dark spot like that of *Enoplognatha marmorata*. Figs. 2, 2a, 2b, 2c. Pl. II.

Tmeticus reticulatus. new sp.

Male 2 mm. long; legs and cephalothorax dull yellow, abdomen gray with faint light markings across the hinder half. The front

middle eyes are small, near together and half-way between the mandibles and the top of the head. The upper middle eyes are farther apart than they are from the lateral eyes and between and below them is a cluster of hairs directed upward. On the front of the under side of the abdomen, between the lungs, the surface is marked with fine lines arranged in hexagons like a honeycomb. The male palpi have the tibia extending on the upper side over the tarsus with a short tooth turning downward and outward at the end. Figs. 3, 3a, 3b. Pl. II.

Lake Louise, Laggan, sifted from moss.

Tmeticus obtusus. new sp.

This is a little translucent spider, 1.5 mm. long, related to *T. entomologicus,* Em., Trans. Conn. Acad., 1911, *T. acummatus,* Em., Bull. Am. Museum, N. Y., 1913, and *T. digitatus,* Em., from Ithaca, N. Y., Journal N. Y. Ent. Soc., 1914. The plainest difference, as in all these species, is in the shape of the tibia of the male palpus. In this species the tibia is widened at the end, and has a shallow notch on the under side. On the upper side it extends over the tarsus in a flat process as wide as the patella, square at the end, and with a slight tooth in the middle of the outer side. Fig. 4. Pl. II. The palpal organ is very simple as in the other species. The eyes have the two middle pairs far apart, the upper pair about their diameter from each other, and the lower pair nearly touching each other.

Jasper, Alberta, in moss near the pond. Lake Louise, 1905.

Lophocarenum dentipalpis. new sp.

3 mm. long. Pale with head and ends of palpi a little darkened with gray. The head is elevated behind the eyes and has two humps rounded in front and extending forward at the sides of the upper middle eyes and a little beyond them. Between the humps are scattered long black hairs directed forward and between the upper and lower middle eyes are two rows of hairs directed outward. The head is narrow and rounded in front, and extends forward beyond the mandibles. The male palpi are large and complicated. The patella is longer than wide, and curved downward. The tibia is narrow at the base, from which it spreads in all directions over the tarsus. On the upper side of the tibia is a small black tooth attached on the inside and extending beyond the

rim over the tarsus. The tarsal hook is small and simple. The tube is long and slender, coiling in two turns around the end of the palpal organ. Figs. 9, 9a. Pl. II.

Goat Mountain, Jasper, Alberta, Canada, in the upper spruce trees in moss.

Lophocarenum alpinum.

Dismodicus alpinus, Banks, Can. Ent., 1896.

Lophocarenum alpinum, Em., Trans. Conn. Acad., 1909.

One male of this was found in moss in the woods on Sulphur Mountain, below the Alpine Club House. Fig. 7, Pl. II, shows the peculiar head and palpus. This species has been found three times on the upper part of Mount Washington, New Hampshire.

Lophocarenum erectum. new sp.

2 mm. long. Legs and palpi orange, cephalothorax brown, abdomen gray. Head of male elevated as in *pallidum* and *cuneatum,* with the upper middle eyes on top of the elevation turned a little forward. The tibia of the male palpus has a long hook, pointed outward over the back of the tarsus, as in *castaneum,* and on the upper side of the tibia is a slender process extending straight upward. Figs. 8, 8a. Pl. II.

Two males from moss in spruce woods near camp at Tackakaw Falls in Yoho Valley, B. C.

Gongylidium tuberosum. new sp.

3.5 mm. long. Brown, resembling *G.* (*Tmeticus*) *brunneus* and *maximus,* and in size and color *Pedanosthethus.* The head is low and the eyes small, the front middle pair one-half smaller than the upper middle. The mandibles have the claw groove toothed on both sides, but have no tooth on the front. The male palpi are short and stout, as in the related species. The tibia is but little modified in shape, and not widened at the end. The tarsus is round, with a notch in the edge over the tarsal hook. The hook is large and complicated, Fig. 5a, 5b, Pl. II, at the end turning sharply outward.

The female is of the same size as the male. The epigynum has a characteristic shape in three narrow lobes. Fig. 5. Pl. II.

Battle Harbor, Labrador, by C. W. Leng of N. Y., sifting moss for beetles.

Gongylidium canaliculatum. new sp.

3 mm. long, pale brown like *brunneus* and *maximus,* and resembling these species. The eyes are low and the head a little elevated behind them, more in the male than in the female. The mandibles have a row of small teeth on each side of the claw, but not the tooth on the front. The male palpi have the tibia widened at the end with a half-round notch above, from which a groove extends along the outer edge of the tarsus, ending in a notch. Fig. 6. Pl. II. The tarsal hook is simple, slightly flattened and curved in a quarter circle at the end. The epigynum shows two round opaque spermathecae at the sides and nearer the middle two dark ridges converging backward. Fig. 6a. Pl. II.

Prince Albert, Canada, from moss in a spruce bog, Aug. 24, 1914.

Bathyphantes arborea. new sp.

2.5 mm. long. Cephalothorax and legs pale yellow-brown, without any markings. Abdomen light on the back with a black middle stripe half its length and a black stripe on each side. The markings of the hinder half are small, usually disconnected, and sometimes absent. The light part of the abdomen is covered with opaque lighter spots showing through the skin. Fig. 10. Pl. II. The under side of the abdomen is dark gray with a light area on each side. The sternum is also dark gray, and the legs and maxillae pale. The epigynum is of the usual kind, projecting but little from the surface of the abdomen. Fig. 10b. Pl. II. The male palpi are small and compact, the tarsus and tarsal hook resembling somewhat those of *B. furcatus* from the Sandwich Mountains, New Hampshire. Figs. 10c, 11d. Pl. II.

Contrary to the habits of most of the genus, this spider lives in the driest of places in spruce trees high above the ground, in company with *Linyphia phrygiana;* Banff, Laggan, Yoho Valley up to 7000 feet.

Bathyphantes occidentalis. new sp.

2.5 mm. long. Cephalothorax pale yellow with dark edges and an indistinct dark square in the middle. The legs are pale with dark rings at the ends of the joints and middle of the tibia, the markings stronger in the female than the male. The abdomen has a wide middle band made up of transverse spots connected by a

middle line. At the sides of the middle band are pale stripes indented on the outer side. On the under side the abdomen is black, broken by a row of irregular spots on the sides. Fig. 11. Pl. II.

The palpus of the male is of middle size with the tarsus elongated and furnished with a sharp curved process at the base, somewhat as in *B. furcatus,* Em., Trans. Conn. Acad., 1913. On the outer side is a smaller process near the base of the tarsal hook, as in several species. The tarsal hook is short and recurved, with a slender point turning at a right angle near the end. Fig. 11a.

The epigynum projects outward from the surface of the abdomen as in *furcatus,* but is not as large as in that species.

Vancouver, Canada, 2 males, 1 female.

Microneta pinnata. new sp.

Male 2 mm. long, without any markings; legs and cephalothorax pale yellow and abdomen gray. The head is high and extends forward as far as the front of the mandibles. The male palpi are large and complex. The tibia is widened on the under side. The horn of the tarsus is straight and at a right angle to the axis of the palpus. It has on the end a group of flat hairs cut at the end into two or three teeth. Fig. 1. Pl. III. The tarsal hook is slender and curved backward, with two points at the base and two at the end. The tube of the palpal organ is long and slender, coiled one and a half times, and supported by a thin flat appendage.

Prince Albert, Canada.

Microneta flava. new sp.

2 mm. long, pale, and without markings; male and female of the same size and general appearance. The male palpi are large and but little darker in color than the rest of the body. The tarsal hook is curved in several different directions, shown in the two figures. At the base it is divided into two branches, the lower one slightly turned outward, and along the basal edge is a ridge, also turned outward. The end of the hook is turned at a right angle to the base, pointed at the tip, and with a ridge on the outer side, ending in a low tooth. Figs. 2a, 2b. Pl. III. The epigynum is of the usual kind, folded and projecting its diameter from the surface of the abdomen. Fig. 2.

One male and female sifted from moss near Lake Louise, Laggan.

Clubiona obtusa. new sp.

Male 4 mm. long and entirely pale. Head slightly narrower than the thorax. Mandibles half as long as the cephalothorax with two very short teeth above the claw and none below it. Fig. 4. Pl. III. The male palpi have a wide and flat process of the tibia extending a third its length over the tarsus on the outer side. Figs. 4b, 4c. Pl. III. The tarsus is oval, twice as long as wide, and the palpal organ resembles that of *crassipalpus*.

The female found at the same place has the mandibles a little shorter, with the two teeth over the claw a little larger, and four very small teeth under the claw. The epigynum resembles that of *rubra*.

Banff, Aug., 1914.

Singa campestris. new sp.

Cephalothorax 2 mm. long. Abdomen of male 2 mm. Abdomen of female 3 mm. or more. The cephalothorax is orange yellow, darker in males, and in both sexes with a distinct black patch around the eyes and backward about a quarter the length of the cephalothorax. In the females the abdomen has three light stripes varying in length and width. Fig. 3. Pl. III. In the male there are usually no stripes. In both the sexes the ends of the abdomen are darker than the middle, sometimes forming a definite pair of black spots at each end. The legs are orange yellow without any markings. The middle eyes are less than their diameter apart, but not as close as in *S. keyserlingi*.

In the male the second tibia is slightly thicker than the first and the spines on the inner side are thickened and short, not much over half the diameter of the tibia. On the first tibia the spines on the inner side are somewhat thickened and about as long as the diameter of the tibia. Fig. 36. Pl. III. Kenora, Edmonton, swept from long grass near ditches.

Pardosa albiceps. new sp.

Male 5 mm. long. Cephalothorax black with narrow white median stripe, widened slightly in front of the dorsal groove and narrowed from there to the eyes, where it widens so as to cover the whole top of the head between the eyes. There are very narrow marginal white stripes. The abdomen is dark with gray hairs and a light central marking divided indistinctly into a

middle row of spots and pairs of smaller spots at the sides. Fig. 5. Pl. III.

The legs are pale with light gray bands. The femora are all pale with longitudinal stripes above and broken bands at the sides, two in the middle and one at each end of the joint.

The male palpi have the femur pale with dark stripes above like the legs. The patella white, tibia black, and tarsus black with a white tip. The tibia and tarsus are large and have long black hairs like *glacialis*. Fig. 5b. Pl. III.

The front of the head, mandibles, maxillae and sternum are black, the coxae pale, and the under side of the abdomen gray.

The female has the legs much more strongly banded than the male. The stripe on the cephalothorax is more widened in front of the groove, and does not have the narrow line to the eyes. The hairs on the head are finer and not as white as in the male. The dorsal markings of the abdomen are more distinct than in the male and the anterior light spot more prominent. The epigynum is long and narrow, the surrounding hard parts deeply indented at the sides. Fig. 5a. Pl. III.

Spray River, B. C., N. B. Sanson, July 4, 1914.

Pellenes sansoni. new sp.

Two males and a female have been received from the Banff Museum. One male and the female are dried, and preserve their markings and colors better than in alcohol.

The face of the male, Fig. 6, Pl. III, is marked with two bright red spots at the sides and partly over the front middle eyes. A white stripe partly surrounds the lateral front eyes and extends back to the dorsal eyes. A white middle stripe extends down between the front middle eyes and backward as far as a line between the dorsal eyes. Between the white stripes are two tufts of long black hair pointed up and forward. Just below the front eyes a few long orange-colored hairs turn toward the middle line and cross at the ends. Below the eyes the color is black, with scattered white faintly iridescent scales in the middle, becoming closer at the sides and forming two white patches of hairs. The edge of the clypheus is orange-colored. The mandibles are striped with three bands of white hairs between which the mandible is smooth and black. The palpi are brown with light orange or flesh color hairs at the base and on the outer side, and long white hairs on the inner side and especially toward the ends. The front

legs differ only slightly from the others. The femora are light in front and dark behind. The light hairs white or light flesh color. Below the white color is a strip of orange marked with a few red hairs. The other joints of the legs are light above and below, and darker in front and behind. The second legs are like the first, but not as strongly marked, and the other legs are without definite stripes, but generally light above and below, with white or light flesh-colored scales and scattered black hairs.

The cephalothorax behind the eyes is black with a narrow white margin. The abdomen is black with an indistinct white basal line and a broken white middle stripe on the hinder half. Fig. 6a. Pl. III. The whole under surface is white or light gray, which shows from above along the sides of the abdomen.

The female is generally lighter than the male, with less black and more light flesh-colored gray. The face, Fig. 6c, Pl. III, has the whole area below the front middle eyes white, which narrows toward the sides and extends backward as a narrow white line along the edge of the cephalothorax. Above the eyes is a light gray area which extends backward as two wide stripes the whole length of the cephalothorax. Over each front middle eye is a small black spot. The sides and the middle of the cephalothorax are black. The mandibles are striped less distinctly than in the male with white and black. The palpi are covered with light gray scales and long gray hairs. The legs are all gray, mixed with fine black hairs. The abdomen has a light basal stripe, stripes at the sides, and a distinct middle light stripe broken into several spots. The under side is white or light gray.

The male palpi have the tibia and patella both very short. The process on the outer side of the tibia is as long as the body of the joint; it is narrow at the end where it divides into two points, the lower one longest. Fig. 6d, 6e, 6f. Pl. III. The tarsus is as wide as long. The bulb is ovate on the outer side and wide and slightly angular at the base. The tube starts in the middle of the inner side. The tarsus and tibia are covered above with long white or light gray hairs.

Found by N. B. Sanson along the Spray River near Banff.

Dendryphantes flavipedes, Peckham. Attidæ of North America, Trans. Wisconsin Acad., 1909.

The common Dendryphantes in August east of the Rocky Mountains at Banff, Jasper and Athabasca Landing, appears to be a

variety of *D. flavipedes,* Peckham. It is about one-fourth larger than the typical *flavipedes* of Eastern Canada and Maine and the females are marked in the same way. In the males there is greater contrast between the light and dark markings and the white stripes are more sharply defined. The first and second legs do not have the black stripes which are characteristic of Maine specimens. The western variety agrees, however, with the type in the three white stripes between the eyes and in the long fork of the palpal organ.

On the Atlantic coast as far south as New Jersey there is another variety of *D. flavipedes* in which the stripes of the front legs are wanting and all the legs of the male are banded as in the female. See Bulletin American Museum Nat. Hist., New York, Aug., 1913.

PLATE II

1 Theridion zelotypum, usual markings of abdomen. 1a marking of females from Jasper and Athabasca Landing.

2 Theridion sexpunctatum. Three females and one male from Vancouver, B. C. 2 markings of the usual pattern. 2a pale variety with all markings indistinct. 2b unusual variation with dark markings united into one spot. 2c unusual variation of a male.

3 Tmeticus reticulatus, head and palpi of male. 3a profile of head of male showing hairs between middle eyes. 3b markings of skin of under side of abdomen near front end.

4 Tmeticus obtusus, male palpi from above.

5 Gongylidium tuberosum, epigynum. 5a, 5b male palpus showing complicated form of tarsal hook.

6 Gongylidium canaliculatum, male palpus showing groove on edge of tarsus. 6a epigynum. 6b mandibles of female.

7 Lophocarenum alpinum, head and palpus of male from Sulphur Mountain, Banff.

8 Lophocarenum erectum, head and palpi of male. 8a left palpus of male showing process of the upper side.

9 Lophocarenum dentipalpis, side of head and palpus of male. 9a top of head and palpi of male.

10 Bathyphantes arborea, dorsal markings of female. 10a, 10b epigynum. 10c, 10d male palpus.

11 Bathyphantes occidentalis, dorsal markings of female. 11a male palpus.

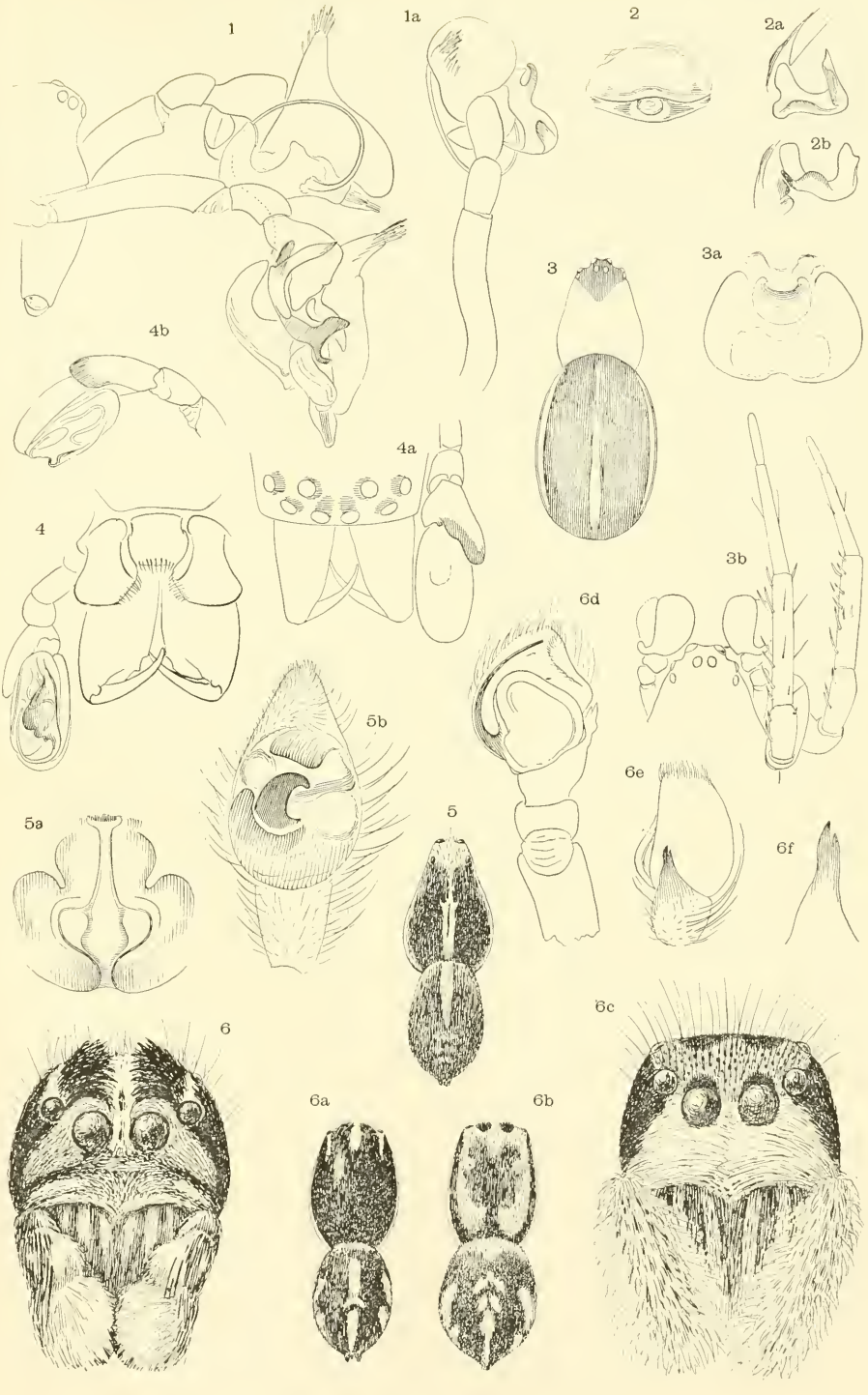
PLATE II

1
1a
3b
2c
2b
2a
2
4
3a
3
7
9
8
9a
5
8a
6
5b
5a
6a
10c
6b
11a
10d
11
10
10a
10b

PLATE III

1 Micronetа plumosa, head and palpi of male. 1a right palpus of male from above.
2 Micronetа flava, epigynum. 2a, 2b tibial hook of male palpus.
3 Singa campestris, dorsal markings of female. 3a epigynum. 3b head and legs I and II of male.
4 Clubiona obtusa, mandibles and palpus of male. 4a eyes and palpus of male from above. 4b male palpus from outer side.
5 Pardosa albiceps, dorsal markings of male. 5a epigynum. 5b male palpus.
6 Pellenes sansoni, front of head of male. 6a back of male. 6b back of female. 6c front of female. 6d male palpus and palpal organ from below. 6e male palpus, outer side with tibial process. 6f tibial process enlarged to show double point.

PLATE III



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New Spiders from New England. XVI, pp. 383-407, 6 pl., June, 1911.

New England Spiders Identified since 1910, XVIII, pp. 209-24, 2 pl., Oct., 1913.

Canadian Spiders. IX, pp. 400-429, 3 pl., July, 1894.

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BY

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
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I. CHAUCER AND HENRY, EARL OF DERBY

[The following titles are cited by the name or abbreviation which occurs first in the line:

Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt.*
Beaufort, *Karamania.*
Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter.*
Caro, *Geschichte Polens.*
Coulton, *Chaucer and his England.*
Emerson, in *Romanic Review.*
Gilbert, *History of the Viceroys of Ireland.*
Gower, ed. Macaulay.
Hales, *Folia Literaria.*
Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches.*
Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual.*
Hertzberg, *Chaucer's Canterbury-Geschichten.*
Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels.*
Kirk, *Life-Records of Chaucer, Part IV.*
Kittredge, *Chaucer.*
Legouis, *Geoffrey Chaucer* (Eng. tr.).
Le Roulx, *La France en Orient.*
Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer.*
Machaut, *La Prise d'Alexandrie.*
Marco Polo, ed. Yule.
Meakin, *The Moorish Empire.*
Ramsay, *The Genesis of Lancaster.*
Rymer, *Fœdera.*
Skeat, edition of Chaucer, 6 volumes.
Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on . . . Mediæval and Modern History.*
Tatlock, *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works.*
Treitschke, *Ausgewählte Schriften.*
Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens.*
Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV.*

Bibl. = *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* Vol. 1.
Cronica = *Cronica de D. Alfonso el Onceno,* ed. Cerdá y Rico, 2d ed.
D. A. = *Derby Accounts* [*Expedition to Prussia and the Holy Land, made by Henry, Earl of Derby*], ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith.
Kervyn = Froissart, *Chroniques,* ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove.
S. R. P. = *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum.*

An occasional *þ* and ȝ in the notes are printed as *th* and *y* respectively.

Sums of money expressed in dollars are computed on the basis of £1 = $75, the purchasing value of money being reckoned as fifteen times that of the present, according to the index-number which seems most generally accepted, without any attempt to demonstrate its validity.]

1. THE EARL OF DERBY'S RETURN TO LONDON IN 1393

On Saturday,[1] the 5th day of July, 1393, Henry, Earl of Derby, just returned from a sojourn of nearly a year[2] abroad, rode from Dartford to London,[3] the last stage of his journey from Canterbury. This was the fifth day since he left Canterbury, but he had rested over Friday, July 4, at Dartford, for reasons which we can only conjecture.

Though Derby had attained the age of 27 only about a month before,[4] he was the father of four sons[5] (besides one born in 1382, when Henry was not quite 16, and who died in infancy),

[1] As bases for the calculation, we may note that April 17, 1390, fell on a Sunday (Skeat 3. 373), and that Easter Sunday of 1393 was April 6 (*D. A.*, p. lxxvii).

[2] See the details in *D. A.*, pp. lxxii-lxxix.

[3] The route was his customary one. He had left Canterbury on July 1, and reached Sittingbourne (15 miles) the same day; on the 2d he was at Rochester (26 miles; the mention of Ospring, as of July 2, *D. A.*, p. 276, must be a mistake); on the 3d at Dartford (40 miles); cf. *D. A.*, p. lxxix. The same route was taken by Henry in the opposite direction, May, 1390 (*D. A.*, pp. xxvi-xxvii), returning about June 1. In 1413, his body was conveyed on a horse-bier from Gravesend to Canterbury (Wylie 4. 113). In the following June, Henry V traveled to Canterbury to attend a solemn obit in honor of his father, the stages being Kensington (13), Rochester (14), Ospring (15), Canterbury (16). Queen Isabella's stations in 1358 had been: London (June 6), Dartford (7), Rochester (8), Ospring (9), Canterbury (10); cf. Furnivall, *Temp. Pref.*, p. 14. Those of King John of France in 1360 were: London (June 30), Dartford (July 1), Rochester (2), Sittingbourne and Ospring (3), Canterbury (4); cf. Skeat 5. 415; 1. xix. The body of Henry V was to travel this way in 1422 (Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* 1. 305). In 1518 Campeggio traveled from Canterbury to London, starting on Monday, July 26, and arriving on Thursday, the 30th (Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII* 1. 280); Henry VIII and Katharine went from London to Canterbury, May 21-25, 1520 (*ib.* 1. 345). Charles V and Henry VIII made the journey as follows in 1522: Canterbury (May 30), Sittingbourne (May 31), Rochester (June 1), Greenwich (June 2; *ib.* 1. 452). For maps and distances, see Littlehales, *Some Notes on the Road from London to Canterbury in the Middle Ages* (Chaucer Society, 1898).

[4] Born May 30, 1366 (Ramsay 2. 100; *Lancaster and York* 1. 1, and table opp. p. xlii; *D. A.*, p. lxxxi; otherwise Beltz, p. 237; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Wylie 4. 166, 330-1, is uncertain.

[5] Henry V (1386), Thomas (1387), John (1389), Humphrey (1390).

and one daughter.[1] He was tall, delicate,[2] and knightly, but of consuming energy.[3] As his beard in later life was russet,[4] and his mother's hair was golden,[5] it is easy to infer that he was of the sanguine temperament. Chaucer describes John of Gaunt as having little hair upon his beard at the age of 24,[6] but we may well suppose that Henry's beard, at 27, was somewhat more developed.[7] His face was no doubt more or less pitted with the smallpox or some other eruption, from which he had suffered in 1387.[8] Altogether, with the toning down of pock-marks to freckles, he seems to have sat for the portrait of Emetreus in the *Knight's Tale*[9]:

> With Arcita, in stories as men finde,
> The grete Emetreus, the king of Inde,[10]
> Upon a stede bay,[11] trapped in steel,

[1] Blanche (spring of 1392). For the dates, see Wylie 3. 324, 326; 4. 133, 167; *D. A.*, pp. lxxxii, 107. 10; cf. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* 1. 159, and Table I.

[2] Wylie 4. 134, 152; Ramsay (*Lancaster and York* 1. 141-2) calls him a neat, well-built, good-looking man of middle size.

[3] Wylie 4. 146.

[4] Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* 1. 142; Wylie speaks of his thick red beard (4. 125).

[5] Chaucer, *Bk. Duch.* 858.

[6] *Bk. Duch.* 456; John of Gaunt was really 29 at the death of Blanche in 1369, when Blanche herself was 28 (Armitage-Smith, p. 21), though Froissart (*Poésies*, ed. Scheler, 2. 8) says she was about 22 ('environ de vingt et deux ans').

[7] *K. T.* 1315: A 2173.

[8] Wylie 4. 152, 158.

[9] 1297-1328: A 2155-86.

[10] There is nothing in the *Teseide* to correspond with this portrait. Chaucer saw a good opportunity to introduce it, and modeled it upon the life, as perhaps in cases like the Wife of Bath (Coulton, p. 26, note) and the Host (Skeat 5. 129; Coulton, p. 149).

[11] It is difficult to say whether Henry is more likely to have ridden a bay or a white horse. Troilus sits on a bay steed (*T. and C.* 2. 624; cf. 1. 1073; 5. 1038), so that possibly the trait is conventional. White horses were in favor with the great. Chaucer may have seen (Emerson 3. 322) King John of France ride through London, in May, 1357, by the side of his captor, the Black Prince, mounted on a white steed (Kervyn 6. 18). Gower has a rout of ladies ride on fair ambling horses, white, fat, and great (*Conf. Am.* 4. 1306-10; cf. 1343). At the funeral of Arcite (*K. T.* 2031 ff.: A 2890 ff.), his arms were borne upon three steeds, great and white. At Griselda's home-coming, after her marriage, she

Covered in cloth of gold[1] diapred weel,
Cam ryding lyk the god of armes, Mars.

rides on a snow-white ambling horse (*Cl. T.* 332: E 388); and Dido, when about to ride hunting with Eneas, sits on a thick palfrey, paper-white, her red saddle being high-embossed with gold (*L. G. W.* 1198 ff.). When Richard II was reconciled with the city of London (*Pol. Poems and Songs,* ed. Wright, 1. 285), in August, 1392, he rode a snow-white horse (*niveo . . . equo*), and was presented before the Southwark bridge with 'a pair of fair white steeds, trapped with gold cloth, figured with red and white, and hung full of silver bells' (Strickland, *Queens of England* 2. 297). When his queen arrived, she received as a gift a small white palfrey, exquisitely trained (*ib.*). When the Greek Emperor, Manuel II, entered Paris on June 3, 1400, the King conducted him through the city on a white horse, richly caparisoned (Wylie 1. 160; Juvenal des Ursins, s. a. 1400), white, according to Gibbon (chap. 66), being 'considered as the symbol of sovereignty.' See also the white horses portrayed in manuscripts of the period: Harl. 1319 (Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life,* frontispiece; cf. pp. 100, 117); Harl. 4379, f. 99 (Armitage-Smith, opp. p. 14); in the former they are ridden by noblemen, going forth to meet the future Henry IV, and in the latter by knights and ladies.

In 1387 Henry had paid $1000 for a gray courser (Wylie 4. 158). A white horse, or one spotted with white, being called Lyard (Wylie 4. 143, note 3), we may note that Henry owned in 1408-9 a Lyard Tidman, Lyard Moglyn, Lyard Fauconberg, in 1396 a Lyard Gilder, and some time between 1401 and 1406 a Lyard Bewley, Waltham, and Lumbard. On the other hand, in 1408-9 Henry had a Bayard Wimborne and a Bayard Bangor (Wylie, as above). In 1391 he paid $50 for a bay horse, and $25 to a messenger who brought Lord Darcy's gift of a bay courser (Wylie 4. 162). In May, 1390, he paid $375 for a white horse, and $250 for a bay, but also $250 for a sorrel (*D. A.*, p. 5).

While 'a fair price for a good horse would vary' from $110 to $300, much higher prices were exceptionally paid: Edward III had one that cost $9000, and Richard II one that cost $15,000 (Wylie 2. 237, note 5).

For Henry's choice of a white horse on an occasion of much ceremony, see note 3.

[1] On Oct. 12, 1399, the day before his coronation, Henry rode from the Tower to Westminster, dressed in a jacket, after the German fashion, of cloth of gold, mounted on a white courser (Kervyn 14. 226). For cloth of gold, see Wylie 1. 310; 2. 287, note 8; 3. 77, note 10, 247, 391; 4. 213. For gold Cyprus cloth, see Wylie 2. 423, 436, 444; 4. 161, 163, 168, 173, 174 (over $2000 in 1397 for a jacket of velvet, with Cyprus gold, embroidered with forget-me-nots), 175, 197, 213 (tent, in 1409, covered with gold Cyprus cloth), 215 (beds of), 221, 226, 239, 240; in May, 1390, Henry had a gown of gold Cyprus made (*D. A.*, p. xxxv). The horse-bier which conveyed Henry's body to Canterbury in 1413 was covered with cloth of gold (Wylie 4. 113).

His cote-armure[1] was of cloth of Tars,[2]
Couched with perles[3] whyte, and rounde, and grete.
His sadel[4] was of brend[5] gold newe ybete[6];

[1] Henry was fond of having his arms displayed on his travels. 'Considerable sums [were] paid for tables and scutcheons of Derby's heraldic arms, both on wood and paper, and for painting them. Lancaster Herald painted these arms at Prague, and again at Vienna, and much care seems to have been taken by the heralds to have these insignia always painted or hung in the lord's hall or room wherever he made a stay of any length' (*D. A.*, p. lvii, and index, p. 334, s. v. Arms in heraldry). 'He had eight tablets (*tabulæ*) painted with his arms and those of his knights and squires, and hung up in St. Mark's Church' (Wylie 4. 108, note), and a picture of the same for the church of St. George (*D. A.* 234. 24; cf. Wylie 4. 129, note 2). He would therefore not be likely to neglect his 'cote armure'; indeed he may have had his arms repeated on the caparisons of his horse, and elsewhere about his person, somewhat as represented in the picture of Sir Geoffrey Louterell (Coulton, opp. p. 194; cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 13. 312). As his arms included the leopards (see p. 174, note 1) of the English shield, Henry would ride forth somewhat like Guillaume de Lorris' god of love (Chaucer, *R. R.* 893-4), painted

with losenges and scochouns,
With briddes, *libardes,* and lyouns.

When he wore his helmet, it would probably be with a plume of ostrich feathers, since his badge was two ostrich feathers Argent (Beltz, p. 242), and in 1393-4 he had his goldsmith make him two bushes for his helmet for the jousts at Hertford (Christmas) and at Westminster (Wylie 4. 164; cf. 4. 161). Even in Lithuania the guests of the Teutonic Order sometimes wore such plumes in their helmets (*Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 14. 382).

Froissart (Kervyn 7. 454) describes how the 'cotte d'armure' of Sir John Chandos led to his death in 1369 (tr. Johnes): 'He . . . was dressed in a large robe which fell to the ground, blazoned with his arms on white sarcenet, argent, a pile gules, one on his breast, and the other on his back. . . . As he marched, he entangled his legs with his robe, which was of the longest, and made a stumble,' etc. Cf. Ramsay 2. 4.

[2] Otherwise known as Tartarin. The *New Eng. Dict.* defines it as 'a rich stuff, apparently of silk, imported from the East, probably from China through Tartary.' It was of various colors—white, scarlet, blue, green (see Wylie's index, s. v. Tartryn, 4. 364). About 1410, Henry had four coats of arms made of satin and Tartarin (Wylie 4. 226).

[3] For Wylie's index, s. v. Pearls, see 4. 513.

[4] In 1391-2 Henry had a jeweled saddle (Wylie 4. 161); in 1395 one covered with red velvet (4. 169); in 1399-1400 one with green velvet and ivory carvings (4. 197); four saddles with velvet, garnished with gold cloth of Venice and fringe of silk and gold (4. 200); eight saddles

A mantelet[1] upon his shuldre hanginge,
Bretful of rubies[2] rede, as fyr sparklinge.
His crispe heer lyk ringes[3] was yronne,
And that was yelow,[4] and glitered as the sonne.
His nose was heigh,[5] his eyen bright citryn,
His lippes rounde, his colour was sangwyn,[6]
A fewe fraknes[7] in his face yspreynd,
Betwixen yelow and somdel blak ymeynd,
And as a leoun he his loking caste.
Of fyve and twenty yeer[8] his age I caste;
His berd was wel bigonne for to springe.
His voys was as a trompe thunderinge.
Upon his heed he wered of laurer[9] grene
A gerland[10] fresh and lusty for to sene.
Upon his hand he bar, for his deduyt,

with gold harness (4. 240); in 1403, palfrey-saddles with gilded harness (4. 222; cf. 2. 438).

[5] Burnished, brilliant; or, perhaps, refined by fire.

[6] Overlaid, inlaid, embossed, damascened, or embroidered (*New. Eng. Dict.*).

[1] Short mantle. In 1391-2 Henry had one of white cloth for Christmas (Wylie 4. 160; cf. 4. 162). Sixteen yards of white velvet are bought in 1391-2 for such a mantlet for Henry and his knights (*D. A.* 282. 13; cf. 234. 3). In 1520, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Francis I wore, over a short cassock of gold frieze, a mantle of cloth of gold covered with jewels—diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and large, loose-hanging pearls (Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII* 1. 353).

[2] See Wylie's index, 4. 529; and s. v. Balais, 4. 334.

[3] In the Frampton illumination, which has some 'claims to genuine portraiture' (Wylie 4. 121), Henry's 'hair is long and flowing.' Doyle gives a picture from MS. Harl. 1819 (*Peerage* 2. 316).

[4] See above, p. 167.

[5] When Henry's tomb was opened in 1831 (Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* 1. 142), his nose was found to be 'elevated, with even the cartilage remaining' (Wylie 4. 125).

[6] See above, p. 167.

[7] See above, p. 167.

[8] See above, p. 166.

[9] In 1395 Gilbert Prince made for Henry a golden fillet with golden laurel-leaves, the leaves being made of gilded parchment. This was for a Tournament of Peace (Wylie 4. 170).

[10] In March, 1393, Henry bought at Venice a chaplet, or jeweled circlet, for $41 (*D. A.* 284. 8), and in 1400 had a chaplet with gold fretwork (Wylie 4. 196). Perhaps it was worn over a helmet, as in the effigies of Sir Hugh Calverley and the Black Prince (see Stothard, *Monumental Effigies,* pp. 77, 79).

An egle[1] tame, as eny lilie whyt.

[1] Though the eagle is sometimes to be found in pieces of goldsmith's work and embroidery done for Henry (Wylie 3. 103; 4. 162, 170, 195), and though he had an eagle on a seal which he sometimes used (4. 191), there seems to be no proof that he ever possessed a living specimen. Besides, since white eagles are not known, notwithstanding *T. and C.* 2. 926 (in a dream), and since Chaucer uses 'eagle' as a generic term (*Parl. F.* 332 ff., 450; cf. 330, 373, 393, etc.), covering the goshawk, the falcon, the sparrow-hawk, and the merlin, it is almost certainly the falcon that is here meant,

> The gentil faucon, that with his feet distreyneth
> The kinges hond.

Henry brought home a number of falcons from each of his longer journeyings (*D. A.*, pp. xxxiv, lxv, and indexes s. vv. Falcons and Hawks, pp. 340, 343). Some he received as presents from the Grand Master and the Marshal of the Teutonic Order, and from two other Prussians, the servants who bore them being rewarded with $50 each on two occasions, and with $100 on another (*D. A.* 107. 11; 108. 30; 111. 10). These latter must have been especially fine, not merely to call for such sums as rewards to the bearers, but also because the Order had a special school for falcons at Marienburg (Pederzani-Weber, *Die Marienburg*, p. 63), from which they sent choice specimens to their patrons in various countries, and among others to Richard II (Pauli, *Pictures of Old England*, p. 132). Margaret, Queen of Denmark, had sent tame gerfalcons to the Grand Master in 1389 (Voigt 5. 531), and similar presents came to him from other princes (Voigt 5. 552). On the other hand, in 1407 falcons were given by him to the King of France, the Dukes of Gueldres, Holland, Saxony, etc. (Voigt 6. 404). Those given to Henry might well include a white gerfalcon.

Of this there are two nearly allied species, the Iceland falcon (*Falco islandus*) and the Greenland falcon (*F. candicans*), the second being whiter than the first. These falcons have inconspicuous dark markings on the head and back, but are so nearly white as often to escape detection when sitting on the snow, with their pure white breasts turned toward the intruder (Knowlton and Ridgway, *Birds of the World*, p. 312; Newton, *Dict. of Birds*, p. 237; *Camb. Nat. Hist.* 9. 180. In the A-version of *Guy of Warwick*, ca. 1330-1340 (l. 823), a gerfalcon is called milk-white).

The poet's reason for representing the gerfalcon as an eagle may become clearer in the light of the fact that Henry, 'whom all the londe loved in lengthe and brede' (*Richard the Redeles*, ed. Skeat, Prol. 9), is figured in the last-named poem as an eagle (cf. Wylie 1. 19; *Pol. Poems and Songs*, ed. Wright, 1. 364, 365, 368; Clanvowe, *Cuckoo and Nightingale* 276), also called falcon (eagle, 2. 9, 145, 176, 190; 3. 69, 74, 91; falcon, 2. 157, 160, 166; 3. 87, 107). The canopy over Henry's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral is adorned with crowned eagles (Stothard,

An hundred lordes[1] hadde he with him there,

Monumental Effigies, p. 82). Perhaps Chaucer was alluding to Henry's foreshadowed kingship in thus endowing him, as 'king of Inde', with the falcon (according to Juliana Berners, the gerfalcon belongs to a king).

How Henry prized an exceptional falcon is shown by the fact that he paid on occasion for a single one $250 (in 1387; Wylie 4. 158), $375 (in 1393; 4. 179), and even (for a sparrow-hawk) $1200 (4. 433); at Milan (*D. A.* 287. 10) he buys a great glove for *the* falcon (*le fawcon*). Froissart represents him as feeding a falcon at a critical moment (Kervyn 16. 232). In 1402 his son John is the king's master of the falcons (Wylie 4. 222), and in 1408 is master falconer of England (4. 209, cf. 210). Falcons, like eagles, appear in his goldsmith's work (3. 103), especially a white falcon on a green ground (4. 194), six white faucons d'or (4. 196), and a falcon of silver (*ib.*).

The falcon was an occasional badge of Edward III (*Richard the Redeles*, notes on 2. 9. 157; Palliser, *Historic Devices*, pp. 361, 371), as was also the eagle (Wright, *op. cit.* 1. 41, 46), and is associated with him in the following lines (85-98) from *Wynnere and Wastoure* (1347-8):

> And als I waytted withinn I was warre sone
> Of a comliche kynge crowned with golde,
> Sett one a silken bynche with septure in honde,
> One of the lovelyeste ledis—whoso loveth hym in hert—
> That ever segge under sonn sawe with his eghne.
> This kynge was comliche clade in kirtill and mantill—
> Bery brown was his berde—brouderde with fewlys
> (Ffawkons of fyne go[l]de flakerande with wynges;
> And ichone bare in ble blewe, als me thoghte,
> A grete gartare of ynde), girde in the myddes.
> Ffull gayly was that grete lorde girde in the myddis:
> A brighte belte of ble broudride with fewles,
> With drakes and with dukkes—daderande tham semede
> Ffor ferdnes of fawcons fete, lesse fawked thay were.

From Edward it seems to have passed to John of Gaunt, in whose privy seal, as used before 1371, two falcons appear as supporters (Armitage-Smith, p. 456). Perhaps in rivalry with John of Gaunt or Henry, it was also used by Richard II toward the end of his life, notably at the abortive Windsor tournament of 1399 (Kervyn 16. 151; Ramsay 2. 348; *Richard the Redeles*, end of note on 2. 2). It may be noted as a curiosity that Lionel, Duke of Clarence (cf. pp. 179 ff.) bequeathed by will a war-horse called Gerfalcon.

As Troilus escorted Criseyde toward the Greek camp (5. 65-6),

> With hauke on hond, and with an huge route
> Of knightes,

so Henry rides forth here.

[1] A poetical round number. Henry had been traveling with seven knights, ten esquires, two heralds, and some twenty-five to thirty valets

Al armed, sauf hir heddes, in al hir gere,
Ful richely[1] in alle maner thinges;
For trusteth wel that dukes, erles, kinges,[2]
Were gadered in this noble companye,
For love, and for encrees of chivalrye.

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and servants (*D. A.*, pp. liii-liv). From the accounts covering the early days of July, we are led to infer a considerable retinue. Thus there appear to have been bought, for July 2, 3, and 4, seventeen bushels of oats, which, if we allow six quarts a day to each horse, would provide for thirty horses three days; what proportion of this, if any, was used for sumpters, we can hardly say. At Rochester, on July 2, there were purchased: white bread for over $13; wine for nearly $60 (say 15 gallons); beer, 18 gallons; salt for $1.25. The very next day were purchased: white bread for nearly $17; wine, over 30 gallons; beer, 23 gallons; to say nothing of three whole sheep, etc. How many men, on the basis of the Rochester purchases, will drink 60 quarts of wine and 72 quarts of beer in one day? Miss Bateson speaks of a quart of each per head daily at a somewhat earlier date (*Mediæval England*, p. 314).

The number of this retinue of course affected the speed of Henry's movements. Lucy Toulmin Smith says of the journey from Canterbury to London (*D. A.*, p. lxxi): 'This was slow traveling for a man who was accustomed to move rapidly, but it was perhaps a stately progress and welcome home to the popular young earl after the long and difficult pilgrimage.' In general, according to the same authority (p. lxxxiii), 'he moved along with considerable retinue and state', for (p. lxxx) 'he was one of the most important princes in England, moving among the flower of knighthood of his time, at home and abroad,' (*ib.*) 'grandson of Edward III,' (*ib.*) 'heir to the great wealth of his maternal grandfather, Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster,' (p. lxxxi) 'able to command a large following of knights and gentlemen.' That he might have traveled more rapidly is clear, since in 1415 Henry V journeyed by the following stages: London (July 30), Dartford (31), Rochester (31), Canterbury (Aug. 1), returning thus: Canterbury (Aug. 2), Sittingbourne (2), Rochester (2), Dartford (3), London (3); so Wylie, *Reign of Henry the Fifth*, p. 95, who remarks that this proves conclusively 'that in the summer, at any rate, the pilgrimage could be managed in two days and one night on the road.' King John of France, in 1357, took a day for each of these stages—Canterbury to Rochester, Rochester to Dartford, Dartford to London (Kervyn 6. 18). Cf. p. 166, note 3; Tatlock, 'The Duration of the Canterbury Pilgrimage' (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 21 (1906). 478-485).

[1] In *T. and C.* 2, 625, Troilus was

Al armed, save his heed, ful richely.

[2] Poetically raised from the knights and squires who actually accompanied him.

Aboute this king ther ran on every part
Ful many a tame leoun and lepart.[1]

[1] Henry had brought with him a leopard ('ounce or chetah', Wylie 4. 108, note) from the East, perhaps from Cyprus (*D. A.*, p. lxv.).

His arms were (Beltz, p. 242): 'France and England quarterly, over all a label of five points Azure, each point charged with three fleurs-de-lis'; otherwise described (Harris Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy* 2. 166) as being, in 1386, 'Gules, three lions passant gardant in pale Or, a label Azure, charged with fleurs de lis Or' (cf. Armitage-Smith, p. 458; *Archæol.* 31. 365; Doyle, *Peerage* 2. 317; Wylie 4. 170). Richard the Lion-hearted had borne three leopards in his shield (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 13. 312; Palliser, *Hist. Devices*, p. 358), which afterwards took their place in the arms of England, the lions passant gardant of England being blazoned as leopards (through confusion) until far into the fifteenth century (*Standard Dict.* s. v. Leopard; cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 13. 325).

The leopard, if we may judge from the poem *Wynnere and Wastoure* (ca. 1347-8), which refers to the Order of the Garter, was peculiarly associated with Edward III, for not only does he bear (76-80) leopards in the arms of England on his gorget (?), but also a golden leopard on his helmet (70-75):

Upon heghe one the holt ane hathell up stondes,
Wroghte als a wodwyse alle in wrethyn lokkes,
With ane helme one his hede—ane hatte appon lofte;
And one heghe one the hatte ane hattfull beste—
A lighte lebarde and a longe, lokande full kene,
Yarked alle of yalowe golde in full yape wyse.

It may be significant that Edward III had a present of a lion and a leopard from the Black Prince, who sent them from Gascony in 1365 (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 184), the leopard perhaps a tame one, such as were employed in southern Europe in the chase of bears, wolves, and wild boars (Kervyn 1.[2] 326). The Black Prince speaks in his will of his leopard-helm (*heaume du leopard;* cf. Stanley, *Hist. Mem. of Canterbury*, 10th ed., pp. 154, 169); and gilt leopards' heads, on a blue enameled ground, occur on the girdle of his effigy, while another adorns the pommel of his sword (Stothard, *Mon. Effigies*).

It is not surprising, in the light of these traditions of the royal line to which he belonged, that Henry was eager to bring home from the hither Orient a specimen of the royal beast. He may also, as Miss Smith suggests (*D. A.*, p. lxv), have wished to add a leopard to the collection of wild beasts already kept in the Tower since the days of Henry I (cf. Kirk, p. xiv; Loftie, *Hist. of London*, 1853, 2. 146), besides thinking of the leopard's symbolical significance.

Henry's leopard had to have a special keeper (*D. A.* 246. 20, 25, 31; even leopard-*men* are spoken of, 247. 15), and horses to draw them both (251. 22; 252. 20; 253. 1; 255. 34; 256. 14). A cabin had to be made for

2. CHAUCER AND HENRY'S RELATIVES

Thus accoutred, and thus accompanied, Earl Henry, on Saturday, the 5th of July, 1393, rode past Greenwich, where Chaucer had probably resided since 1385,[1] with practically no public employment since 1391.[2] Here, as Legouis says[3]: 'He had had many opportunities of watching those motley cavalcades [of Canterbury pilgrims] go by. . . . He had only to describe these pilgrims, each with the appurtenances of his rank and his individual traits.'

That Chaucer was delighted to see Henry in his state, both because of the poet's relations to various members of Derby's family, and because of his attitude toward the earl himself, there can be little doubt. Taking first the older members of the latter's family, we may consider his grandfathers:

(1) *Edward III.* Chaucer was attached to the king's army for the invasion of France in 1359, and the king contributed

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him on the galley which brought him to Venice (229. 3), and a mat bought for him at Treviso (240. 15). He consumed six sheep in about a month (231. 10, 13, 19; 232. 9; cf. 229. 3, 29; 230. 18; also 233. 18; 235. 8); but also required oil (245. 25), oil and spices (258. 1), spices, $50 worth (229. 5), and spices and unguents (246. 23)—even, on one occasion, but where we do not know, *wax candles* (163. 8), the Latin entry being: 'Clerico speciarie per manus custodis leopardi pro candelis cereis emptis pro leopardo, iiij d. ob.' [4 1/2 d.]. Just when it was necessary to obtain a parcel from the apothecary for him (Wylie 4. 170) is not known (1393 or 1394), but Wylie assigns it to 1394 (4. 108, note).

Henry's interest in leopards is indicated in many ways. When king, he had a keeper of his lions and leopards (Wylie 1. 61). In 1393 or 1394, after his return from the Holy Land, his harness-maker seems to have made him a seat for the leopard's saddle (*sege p. sell' leopardi*, Wylie 4. 164). As early as 1381-2, he has a satin cloak charged (embroidered ?) with gold leopards; in 1401 he has a silver boat, called an almsdish, with a leopard standing on the stem; and in 1406 a similar one embossed with seven leopards. It may be added that Henry V's herald, named from his master's coat, was Leopard Herald (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 13. 325).

[1] Tatlock, pp. 138 ff.; Skeat 1. xxxv-xlii (§§26, 30, 32), and one-volume ed., p. xiii; Kirk, p. xxxiii; Legouis, pp. 15, 142-3; Chaucer, *Envoy to Scogan* 45.

[2] His duties as joint forester of North Petherton Park (Skeat 1. xl) can scarcely have occupied much of his time.

[3] Legouis, p. 143; cf. Skeat 1. xlii, and one-volume ed., p. xiii; Tatlock, p. 141.

$1200 toward his ransom, which was effected on March 1, 1360.[1] Chaucer's wife, Philippa Chaucer, was 'doubtless named'[2] after Edward's queen. By 'themperour Octovien' (*Bk. Duch.* 368[3]; cf. 1314) Chaucer is understood to mean Edward.

In 1367 Chaucer was appointed valet, and in 1372 esquire, of the king's household; in 1372 he was a commissioner to treat with Genoa; in 1374 the king made him a grant of a pitcher of wine[4] daily,[5] and appointed him comptroller of the customs and subsidy of wools, etc.; from 1375-7 he was 'pampered by Edward III.'[6] Add that his father, John Chaucer, was in attendance on the king in an expedition to Flanders in 1338,[7] and was deputy to the king's butler in the port of Southampton in 1349.[8] Besides, Chaucer may possibly have alluded to the battle of Sluys (1340), one of the most memorable in the naval history of England, in the lines (*Prol.* 399-400):

> If that he faught, and hadde the hyer hond,
> By water he sente hem hoom to every lond,

for, in his account of this battle, so glorious for Edward, Minot (ed. Hall 5. 44-46) says of the English:

> Few of the Normandes left thai olive,
> Fone left thai olive, but did tham to lepe;
> Men may find by the flode a C on hepe.[9]

(2) *Henry, Duke of Lancaster* (?1299-1361). In the year before Henry's death, Chaucer had served in the French cam-

[1] Skeat 1. xix; Emerson 3. 328, 355; Legouis, p. 6.

[2] Skeat 1. xx.

[3] Cf. Skeat's note, and see Emerson, p. 330, note 34.

[4] 2½ quarts.

[5] The average price from Oct. 27, 1376, to June 21, 1377, was 7.2173 pence = $2.25; thereafter, at 20 marks the year, 8.767 pence = $2.75.

[6] Legouis, p. 13.

[7] Skeat 1. xv.

[8] Kirk 4. xi, 145; Coulton, p. 13.

[9] Cf. Minot 5. 55-7, and Hall's note on 5. 45-6; Chaucer, *L. G. W.* 644. For the battle of Espagnols-sur-Mer (1350), see Nicolas, *Hist. Royal Navy*, 1847, 2. 108, where we are told of a Spanish vessel which had engaged that of the Prince of Wales, that as soon as the former surrendered, through the help of the Earl of Lancaster, whose men shouted, 'Derby to the rescue!' 'the whole of her crew, according to the barbarous custom of the age, were thrown overboard, "not one being taken to mercy."'

paign, where Henry had commanded one division (Edward III and the Black Prince being at the head of the two others), and had probably seen him more than once.[1] The immense reputation of Henry must have impressed Chaucer's imagination,[2] and the impression was surely deepened by Chaucer's late relation to Henry's daughter, Blanche, and her husband, John of Gaunt.

We may next pass to a consideration of the Earl of Derby's father and uncles, and, first, of his father:

(3) *John of Gaunt.* According to Armitage-Smith[3]: 'Far more important than his early apprenticeship in the trade of war was Richmond's first meeting with one who was to be through life his friend and intimate, Geoffrey Chaucer. It was at Christmas, 1357, that John of Gaunt and Chaucer first came to know each other. Before this the poet may have come under his notice in the King's household, but at the Christmas feast of 1357 they met in a more intimate manner, for both were staying at Hatfield in Yorkshire with Lionel, now Earl of Ulster in the right of his wife, Elizabeth de Burgh. Upon Chaucer's fortunes this meeting had a lasting effect, for the friendship of John of Gaunt secured to him the favour of the Court so long as his patron lived, and after his death the protection of the new dynasty.' In 1359 John married Blanche, who was to be celebrated in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess.*[4] At the end of the same year, or the beginning of the next, John of Gaunt 'had taken his share of the skirmishes and raids on the march—at Rethel, where his friend Geoffrey Chaucer was captured,' etc.[5]

Perhaps in 1369 or 1370, Chaucer had written the *Book of the Duchess,* 'a tribute alike to the chivalrous love of John of Gaunt for Blanche and to the affection of the poet for his earliest patroness.'[6]

[1] Emerson 3. 342, 355, 359.

[2] See p. 184.

[3] Pp. 10-11; cf. *Life Records III,* p. 99.

[4] Emerson thinks Chaucer was present at the wedding (3. 325, note 14).

[5] Armitage-Smith, p. 18; cf. Emerson, p. 340.

[6] Armitage-Smith, p. 76. 'Though John was afterwards twice married, gratitude to the memory of his first wife never failed: so long as he lived, the rites due to religion and affection were observed, and in his will the Duke's first injunction is that he shall be laid by her side' (Armitage-Smith, p. 77).

On June 13, 1374, John of Gaunt grants Chaucer $750 a year for life, for his own and his wife's services,[1] as on Aug. 30, 1372, he had granted the same sum to Philippa Chaucer, the wife, for the services that she had done and was to do to his wife Constance.[2] It should not be forgotten that Philippa was probably the sister of John's third wife, Katharine Swynford,[3] so that, through this connection, Chaucer's (probable) son, Thomas Chaucer, could be called cousin by Henry Beaufort (?1375-1477), John of Gaunt's second son by Katharine Swynford,[4] and Chaucer's great-great-grandson was at one time heir-apparent to the throne of England.[5]

About 1379 may perhaps be dated Chaucer's *Complaint of Mars,* made, according to Shirley, at the command of John of Gaunt.[6] Whatever their intimacy may or may not have been in the later years of Chaucer's life, Coulton is justified in speaking of John of Gaunt as Chaucer's best patron,[7] and Armitage-Smith in saying: 'Posterity has never forgotten the debt owed by Chaucer and English literature to the Duke of Lancaster.'[8]

(4) *Edward, the Black Prince* (1330-1376). In the French campaign of 1359-60, Chaucer was in the division of the army led by the Prince of Wales.[9]

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[1] Kirk, p. 192.

[2] Kirk, p. 181 (cf. the king's annuity in 1366, p. 158).

[3] Skeat, p. li; Kirk, pp. xvi-xix, li-lvii, 334; Coulton, pp. 30-31; Armitage-Smith, pp. 389 ff., 451, 461-3; Wylie 3. 258-264; Stow, *Annales,* 1580, p. 548; 1592, p. 517; 1600, p. 527; Hammond, pp. 22 ff., 47-8; Kittredge, in *Mod. Phil.* 1. 5; Nicolas, in Aldine Chaucer (1880), pp. 44-50, 86-92, 113-4.

[4] Kirk, pp. lii, 334; Armitage-Smith, p. 389; Wylie 4. 313-4; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 46, 55.

[5] Thomas had (1) daughter, Alice, who had (2) son, John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who had (3) son, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln (?1464-1487), chosen by Richard III as heir, and slain in battle against Henry VII (Coulton, p. 73). Alice was a lady of the Garter in 1432 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 46. 55; *Encyc. Brit.,* 11th ed., 15. 857).

[6] Hammond, p. 384.

[7] P. 67.

[8] P. 413.—It is interesting, though not pertinent to this discussion, to know that a lineal descendant of the duke, through Prince Henry the Navigator, died in 1898, after being for twenty-five years the husband of an English wife; he was Antonio Manuelo Saldanha, Count of Lancastre or Alencastre (Countess of Cardigan, *My Recollections,* p. 160).

[9] Emerson, p. 337.

(5) *Lionel, Duke of Clarence* (1338-1368). Among the accounts of Lionel's wife, there are entries of the purchase of clothing for Chaucer, under April 4, 1357; of a payment to him May 20; and of a provision of Christmas necessaries for him Dec. 20, showing that Chaucer was then in the employ of Lionel.[1] In 1359 he must have been serving under Lionel,[2] who was attached to the division of the Black Prince. Toward the end of 1360 he was dispatched by Lionel from Calais to England as a bearer of letters.[3] Here ends our direct information with respect to Chaucer's connection with Lionel.[4] Kirk says (p. xv): 'Of Chaucer's life between 1360 and 1366 we have absolutely no information, but it seems quite certain that he was in the King's service during the greater part of that period, as he received an annuity from the King at the end of it.'[5] As a matter of fact, the next appearance of Chaucer's name is on June 20, 1367, when King Edward grants an annuity of twenty marks to Chaucer, 'pro bono servicio quod dilectus vallectus noster Galfridus Chaucer nobis impendit et impendet infuturum.' If Chaucer had been in the king's service between 1360 and 1367, as Kirk suggests,[6] and yet there is no mention of him as in personal attendance upon the king, where had these services been performed? The answer is almost ludicrously easy, though it rests upon a conjecture. In September,[7] 1361, Prince Lionel had gone over to Ireland as viceroy, accompanied by his wife,

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[1] Kirk, pp. xiii-xiv, 152-3; Bond, in *Life-Records III*, pp. 98 ff.

[2] Skeat I. xviii; Ramsay I. 435; Emerson, p. 337.

[3] Emerson, pp. 358, 361.

[4] Skeat says (I. xx): 'On July 1, 1361, Prince Lionel was appointed lieutenant of Ireland. . . . It does not appear that Chaucer remained in his service much longer; for he must have been attached to the royal household not long after the return of the English army from France.'

[5] Cf. Lounsbury I. 59: 'Between 1360 and 1367 lies an exasperating blank in the poet's life. Not the slightest suggestion as to what was his occupation during that time can be derived from any quarter, beyond the inference that may be drawn from the language used in the subsequent gift of a pension, that he was employed in the king's service. But even of the nature of this service, and where it kept him, or whither it took him, we have nowhere the least inkling, when we have gone so far as to assume its reality.'

[6] Cf. Lounsbury, above.

[7] He arrived Sept. 15 (*Annals of Ireland*, in *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. Gilbert, 2. 395).

Elizabeth, and with an army commanded, under him, by the Earl of Stafford,[1] Edward III having written: 'Our Irish dominions have been reduced to such utter devastation, ruin, and misery, that they may be totally lost if our subjects there are not immediately succored.'[2] In November, 1366, he returned,[3] the crowning act of his viceroyalty having been the holding of the Parliament of Kilkenny on Feb. 18 of that year,[4] the statute of which was long regarded as a masterpiece of colonial legislation.[5] Now it is significant that on June 20, 1367, Chaucer received his annuity from the king. What more likely, then, than that he, whom Lionel had entrusted with dispatches for England a few months before the latter's departure for Ireland, should have been retained by his master during his residence in Ireland, and that the services performed there should have warranted recognition by the king on his return?[6] This conjecture is corroborated by the proof, adduced by Sypherd,[7] that Chaucer, when, in his *House of Fame*,[8] he described a house of

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[1] Gilbert, p. 217; cf. Beltz, pp. 33-36. His chief officers were James, Earl of Ormonde, Sir John Carew, and Sir William de Windsor, whom Lionel left behind to represent him in 1366, and who married Alice Perrers in 1376.

[2] For a picture of warfare in Ireland at that time, see Kervyn 15. 167 ff.; Gilbert, pp. 221-4.

[3] *Eul. Hist.* 3. 241; cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls* for Oct. 26, 1366.

[4] *Statutes and Ordinances, and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland*, ed. Berry, 1. 430.

[5] Ramsay 1. 488.

[6] If this be granted, there will result a curious parallel between the sojourns of Chaucer and Spenser in Ireland. The later poet, Chaucer's immediate successor in greatness, his disciple, and, so to say, his grave-neighbor in Westminster Abbey, was, like him, a courtier, a bearer of dispatches (as early as 1579, and perhaps in 1577; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 53. 387), and finally, by 1580, when he was about 28, an attendant upon the Lord Deputy to Ireland, during his stay in which he met and married his wife, and where he obtained material for his poetry.

[7] *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, pp. 140-2, 151-4.

[8] 1936 ff.:

> And al this hous, of whiche I rede,
> Was made of twigges, falwe, rede,
> And grene eek, and som weren whyte,
> Swiche as men to these cages thwyte,
> Or maken of these paniers,
> Or elles hottes or dossers.

twigs, had in mind the wicker dwellings made by the Irish of that period, though Sypherd himself does not draw the obvious inference.[1] Even Kittredge, who first directed Sypherd's attention to the Irish wicker houses,[2] still has no explanation, as late as the present year [1915], except the following[3]: 'Chaucer's erstwhile master, Prince Lionel, had lived in Ireland, and Chaucer knew scores of Englishmen who were familiar with Irish life.'[4]

[1] He says (p. 153): 'The evidence that has been presented shows the entire likelihood that the Irish wicker-houses were known in England. We may be sure that Chaucer would have been one of the first to hear about such interesting things. His connection with the household of Lionel must not be forgotten. Prince Lionel stayed in Ireland long enough to learn much of the social conditions of the people, and on his return must have told many tales of that wild country. Through him or through some of his followers, Chaucer, *though not then in his service* [italics mine], may have heard of these wicker-houses.'

[2] Sypherd, p. 141, note 1.

[3] *Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 104.

[4] If Chaucer were still regarded as the author of Fragment B of the *Romance of the Rose*, another confirmation of our theory might be found in lines 3809-14:

> He was so ful of cursed rage;
> It sat him wel of his linage,
> For him an Irish womman bar.
> His tunge was fyled sharp, and squar,
> Poignaunt and right kerving,
> And wonder bitter in speking.

Here lines 3811-12 correspond to these in Old French, as quoted by Godefroy (4. 461) under *Herese, erese, iresc, iresse:*

> Il fu fiuz [*var.* fiz] d'une vielle [*var.* vieille] irese [*var.* iresse],
> Si ot [*var.* out] la geule [*var.* langue] molt [*var.* moult] punese [*var.* perverse].

The lines corresponding to the English passage are, in Michel's edition (4126-9):

> Qu'il fu filz d'une vielle Irese,
> Si ot la langue moult punese,
> Et moult poignant, et moult amère;
> Bien en retraioit à sa mère.

Godefroy explains *ires(s)e* as a noun masc. and fem., meaning 'heretic', while Michel (and Skeat follows him) renders the word by 'Irlandaise,' and Méon translates it by 'full of ire.' Chaucer, at least in later years, would have understood the word, for in the *Legend of Good Women* 255-6: 329-330) he uses the corresponding abstract noun:

If, then, we may assume that Chaucer was with Lionel in Ireland during the whole or part of the period 1361-6, this would render probable Chaucer's journey with him to Milan in 1368, when the prince went to marry the daughter of Galeazzo II.[1] Already in 1598 Speght had said: 'Some write that he with Petrarke was present at the marriage of Lionell Duke of Clarence with Violant daughter of Galeasius Duke of Millaine: Yet Paulus Iouius nameth not Chaucer, but Petrarke he saith, was there. And yet it may well be.'[2] Skeat combats this, on the ground that Chaucer received his pension on May 25 of that year.[3] This, however, has been proved a mistake. The payment was indeed made on May 25, but not into Chaucer's own hands, as the receipts commonly run.[4] As Lionel, on crossing the Channel in April, 1368 (before the 16th, on which day he entered Paris), had a retinue of 457 men, what more natural than that Chaucer, if he had been in his service so long, and had deserved recognition of his faithfulness at the hands of the king, should have been included in the number?[5]

The arguments in favor of Chaucer's attendance upon Lionel are briefly these:

(1) Chaucer's apparently recent membership in Lionel's suite.

(2) The union with Violante was planned for before Lionel left Ireland, since on July 30, 1366, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl

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Thou hast translated the Romance of the Rose,
That is an *heresie* ageyns my lawe.

Hence it would seem to follow that, as the translator made a wrong rendering of *irese,* he must either have been some one else than Chaucer, or Chaucer before he was thoroughly acquainted with French, or Chaucer going out of his way to reflect upon the Irish character.

[1] Bond favored this view in 1866 (*Life-Records III,* p. 103); Furnivall saw 'no good outward reason' against it in 1875 (see note 4, below); and Lounsbury (1. 157), following Bond, remarks: 'It might almost be said that the discovery of Chaucer's previous connection with the household of Prince Lionel lends an air of probability to the statement.'

[2] Hammond, pp. 26-27.

[3] 1. xxiii; cf. Lounsbury 1. 156-7; Kirk, p. xv.

[4] Chaucer Society, Ser. 2, No. 10 (1875), p. 150 (Furnivall); *Athenæum,* Sept. 17-Nov. 26, 1898; *M. L. N.* 11. 210; 12. 1 (Mather).

[5] The notary who drew and sealed Lionel's will on Oct. 3, 1368, must have accompanied him from Ireland, since he was a clerk of the diocese of Meath (*clericus Miden' dioc'*); cf. Nichols, *Wills of the Kings and Queens of England,* p. 90.

of Hereford (1341-1373), whose daughter was to become the wife of Henry IV, was commissioned to negotiate for the marriage (Rymer), and on Jan. 19, 1367, the first draft of the marriage-contract was signed by Violante's father, Galeazzo (Rymer). Hence Lionel may well have been planning ahead for his trusted attendants.

(3) There is no evidence that Chaucer received his pension with his own hands on May 25, 1368 (see p. 182).

(4) In 1372 Chaucer was sent to Italy as an envoy to treat with Genoa,[1] suggesting some special knowledge or ability on his part.

(5) Chaucer was absent from London between May 28 and Sept. 19, 1378, in the retinue of Sir Edward Berkeley, sent by Richard II to negotiate with Bernabò Visconti and the English *condottiere,* John Hawkwood. As both of the latter were present to greet Lionel in 1368, we may discover in this some reason for Chaucer's being selected for the later mission, if he had seen them ten years before. And if Tatlock[2] is right in assuming that the mission of 1378 may have related in part to negotiations for a marriage between Richard and Bernabò's daughter, Caterina, this fact would tend to the same conclusion. As Chaucer may have been chosen to membership in this matrimonial commission partly because he had recently been employed upon similar business in France,[3] so he may have been selected for an embassy to the court of Milan in part because he was already acquainted with conditions and personages there.

(6) Froissart was certainly in Lionel's company on the journey. In his *Prison Amoureuse,*[4] dating from 1371, he describes as an eye-witness the reception of Lionel in Savoy in 1368, and in the *Buisson de Jonece,*[5] dating from 1373, he tells of the gift made to him by Lionel's host, Amedeus VI, Count of Savoy (1343-1383), at Milan, whence Froissart passed to Bologna, Ferrara, and Rome.[6]

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[1] Kirk, p. 181.

[2] P. 41.

[3] Kirk, p. xxviii.

[4] 363-4, 370-4.

[5] 339-347.

[6] Froissart had seen Lionel in 1361 at Berkhamstead, 28 miles northwest of London, as he himself tells us; cf. Kervyn 16. 142.

But if Froissart was of the company, why should not Chaucer have been? In their capacity as court-poets, both must have been on a somewhat similar footing. Chaucer had written mere poetic trifles, and Froissart had made no more than sketches for his great historical work. What he had done was to compose 'de beaux dittiers et trettiés amoureuse' for Philippa (d. 1369), Edward III's queen; and as these consisted largely of 'ballades, virelais, et rondeaux' (see, for example, the *Paradys d'Amour*), so Chaucer speaks[1] of having made 'balades, roundels, virelays,' or, as Gower says[2]:

> in the floures of his youthe,
> In sondri wise, as he wel couthe,
> Of ditees and of songes glade, . . .
> The lond fulfild is overal.

That Chaucer knew Froissart is rendered probable by their common affection for Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt (cf. *Book of the Duchess* with *Buisson de Jonece* 241-250), and by the fact that Chaucer, at the beginning of the *Book of the Duchess* (1-10), written within a year or so of Lionel's marriage, imitates the beginning of Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*,[3] and derives the name 'Eclympasteyre'[4] from Froissart's 'Enclimpastair.'[5]

The companionship of the two on this journey has been assumed by notable scholars. Thus Kervyn (1.[1] 166): 'Le hasard avait réuni aux fêtes de Milan les esprits les plus éminents du XIVe siècle, à qui trois langues, trois littératures durent leurs progrès et leur avenir, Pétrarque qui assouplit la langue encore inculte et rude de Dante, Froissart qui rendit également plus élégante, plus rapide celle de Villehardouin et de Joinville, Chaucer que Pope [Spenser], son imitateur, appelle le créateur du pur anglais.' And the Froissart scholar is followed by Petit de Julleville (*Hist. Lang. et Litt. Fr.* 2. 347): 'Deux poètes sont du cortège', etc. Add *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 11. 244.

(7) Chaucer (*Squire's Tale* 191-3) presents 'a stede of *Lumbardye*' as the model of a war-horse:

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[1] *L. G. W.* 411: 423.

[2] *Conf. Am.* 2943-5, 2947.

[3] Sandras, *Étude sur G. Chaucer*, p. 295; cf. Kittredge, in *Eng. Stud.* 26. 321.

[4] *Bk. Duch.* 167.

[5] *Paradys* 28; cf. Hammond, p. 364.

> For it so heigh was, and so brood and long,
> So well proporcioned for to ben strong,
> Right as it were a stede of Lumbardye.

This might possibly be a reminiscence of the present made to Lionel, at his wedding-feast, of six great coursers with saddles and equipments wrought in gold with the arms of Galeazzo and himself; or of the six great tilting-horses, with gilded bridles, and reins and caparisons of crimson velvet; or of the two splendid coursers, Lion and Abbot, presented to Lionel by his brother-in-law, Gian Galeazzo; or of the seventy-seven fine horses presented to the barons and gentlemen of the duke's retinue.[1]

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[1] If it were not too fanciful, one might suggest that the feast in the *Squire's Tale* had borrowed other features from the banquet offered to Lionel and his train; that Cambinskan stands for Galeazzo II, who also had two sons (though the youngest, if then alive, must have been an infant, since he could not have been born before 1366; cf. Magenta, *I Visconti e gli Sforza* 1. 68, note 2), and one daughter, Violante (Maria having died in 1362; cf. *Mon. Hist. Patr.* 3. 1336); that Elpheta is Blanche, Algarsyf is Gian Galeazzo, and Canacee is Violante; that 'twenty winter' (l. 43) is a round number; that the solemn and rich feast (l. 61) corresponds to the wedding-banquet, with its eighteen courses and elaborate dishes, the fifth course including herons (cf. l. 68; the 'strange sewes' of l. 67 perhaps representing the garlic-sauce of the sixth course); that the strange knight, 'al armed, save his heed,' (l. 90) suggests the knights that accompany 'the king of Inde' (*K. T.* 1322; cf. p. 167, above); that Gawain (l. 95) reminds us of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* which (ll. 552-3) mentions Lionel and the Duke of Clarence (if we follow Mr. Isaac Jackson, *Angl.* 37. 395-6; but both names are already found in the French poem *Lancelot,* of the early thirteenth century, so that Lionel may owe both name and title to romance); that the Green Knight, in turn, suggests the Green Count, Amedeus VI (see p. 183, above), uncle of Violante, who had arranged for the marriage (Cordey, *Les Comtes de Savoie et les Rois de France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans,* p. 183), entertained Lionel at Chambéry, convoyed him to Milan, and was present at the banquet; that as the Green Knight enters 'at the halle-dor' (*Gaw.* 136) on his green charger, to the sound of pipers and trumpets, so 'at the halle-dore' (l. 80) comes in the knight upon a steed of brass, while the king is 'herkninge his minstralles hir thinges pleye' (l. 78), and while no word is spoken, but all gaze in wonder (*Gaw.* 232. 242-4; *S. T.* 86, 88, 189-90); that the Green Knight drives (but this is found in other romances as well) to the 'heye dece' (*Gaw.* 222), as the other rides to the 'heighe bord' (85, 98), and there each addresses the king (*Gaw.* 256 ff.; *S. T.* 99);

(8) In the *Legend of Good Women* (A 354-5) we are told that a lord should

> nat be lyk tiraunts of Lumbardye,
> That usen wilfulhed and tirannye,

an evident allusion to the Visconti. This feeling may have in some degree been prompted or intensified by the feud between Galeazzo and the English after the death of Lionel in October, 1368, when they refused to give up the Piedmontese towns which constituted part of Violante's dowry, and Galeazzo attempted to take the towns by force. If this were the case, it might imply that Chaucer had remained in Italy till late in the year (and indeed there is no indication that he received his pension on October 31 with his own hands); on the other hand, the tyranny of the Visconti was a matter of common knowledge, and Chaucer would have had other opportunities—in 1372 and 1378—to acquaint himself with the condition of things in Italy. The passage on Bernabò in the *Monk's Tale* (409-16) could not, of course, have been written till after 1385, when Bernabò died; and one naturally associates that with the couplet from the *Legend of Good Women.*

It may be objected that, as we have the name of Philippa Chaucer, the poet's wife, in a document of Sept. 12, 1366,[1] this

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that Chaucer's knight (Lionel?) recites a message (l. 110) from 'the King of Arabie and Inde' (Inde, as in *K. T.* 1298, = England?), and afterwards dances (l. 277) with Canacee (Violante?); that Lionel is alluded to, by the name Leon (so in four manuscripts of Murimuth (Rolls Series, p. 87); cf. Hardyng: 'And in the feld a Lyon marmorike'), in the mention of a sign of the zodiac (l. 265); that there was plenty, for the most and least (l. 300), as we know there was at the banquet in Milan, where, Paulus Jovius assures us, the food carried away from the table would have sufficed for ten thousand men; that Canacee (l. 392) walks in the park (at Pavia, whither Lionel and Violante betook themselves after the wedding; see the map in Magenta, opp. p. 118), where (perhaps near the country-house of Mirabello; cf. Magenta 1. 124) she finds a falcon (l. 411), such as Galeazzo prided himself on keeping in the park (Magenta 1. 120-2); and that Cambinskan won many a city in his time (l. 662), as did members of the Visconti family—

> But al that thing I moot as now forbere;
> I have, God woot, a large feeld to ere,
> And wayke been the oxen in my plough.

[1] Kirk, p. 158.

is conclusive evidence that Chaucer could not have then been in the service of Lionel in Ireland. But this is to suppose that leaves of absence would, in the course of nearly six years, never be granted. That leaves of absence were granted, at least to the viceroy, is evident from the fact that robes were prepared for Lionel against the Feast of St. George, April 23, 1364, showing that he must have been, or been expected, in England at that time[1]; moreover, we have independent evidence that Lionel was absent from Ireland during portions of 1364-5-6,[2] when he left the Earl of Ormond and Sir Thomas Dale as his deputies.[3] It is by no means unlikely, then, that he should, on one or more of these occasions, have taken with him the capable squire whom he had had occasion, several years previously, to employ in a position of trust.[4] Nor is it impossible that Lionel may have sent him to England at least once during his residence in Ireland.[5] If Chaucer had thus returned to England, he might easily have taken opportunity to wed Philippa, or even have had time for a preliminary wooing.

It is no objection to this hypothesis that we ought to find Chaucer's name in the royal account-books for 1361-6, since we know that Lionel received lump-sums for the payment of his

[1] Beltz, p. 7.

[2] Ireland was then regarded by the English nobles, and the proprietors of lands in that island, as a place of exile (Gilbert, pp. 216, 218, 220, 233, 234, etc.), and Richard de Pembridge, for declining to accept the viceroyalty in 1371, was stripped of all the lands and offices which he held of the Crown (Gilbert, p. 232; cf. p. 233).

[3] Gilbert, p. 220. He was absent from April 22 to Dec. 8, 1364 (*Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. Gilbert, 2. 396; *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1364-7, pp. 11-13, 19, 21, 25, 34). On the other hand, it is clear that he was in Ireland (Ramsay 1. 453) when he was made Duke of Clarence in November, 1362.

[4] That Lionel traveled with a considerable retinue in 1364 is clear from the fact that on July 5 eighty ships were ordered to be got ready at Liverpool for his conveyance to Ireland (Rymer); according to a later order (Aug. 8), the vessels were to be between 30 and 80 tons. Some of the persons accompanying him are named in the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* for 1364 (p. 34).

[5] On June 4, 1363, John Comyn receives a release, as being in the retinue of Lionel's wife; and on March 5, 1364, Lionel's daughter Philippa is sent to England (Rymer), of course with an appropriate escort.

men—$100,000 at one time[1]—and must have kept his own accounts with them.

As for the journey to Italy, Lounsbury is not justified in saying: 'There is positive testimony in the records that in 1368 he [Chaucer] was concerned in the war in France. This might not have prevented him from being in Italy at the time of the marriage ceremony; but it adds greatly to its improbability.'[2] The answer is that there was no war between England and France in 1368.[3] John of Gaunt did not land at Calais till July,[4] 1369, and was back by November[5]; in the mean time his wife, Blanche, had died (Sept. 12). Now Chaucer is listed among those following John of Gaunt who received a loan (in his case $750) at the beginning of the war in France, the account covering the period between June 27, 1369, and June 27, 1371.[6] Whether Chaucer actually crossed the Channel in 1369 we do not know; but between Feb. 13 and June 27 he received $75 for his summer clothes;[7] on Sept. 1 it was ordered that he should receive black cloth to wear at the funeral of Queen Philippa,[8] the list being headed by John of Gaunt; and on Oct. 8 he received his half-yearly pension.[9]

It is perhaps not without significance that Chaucer's appointment as sub-forester of the forest of North Petherton in 1390

[1] Cf. the Issue Roll for Oct. 29, 1366 (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 188): 'To Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in money paid to him by the hands of Robert de Assheton, John Joce, and John de Hylton, for the wages of himself, his men at arms, and archers, retained by him in the war in Ireland, in the service of the Lord the King. By writ of privy seal. 1333l. 6s. 8d.' The second year after Lionel's death (June 18, 1370), a commission was appointed to audit the accounts—if we might once consult those accounts!—of Lionel's treasurers, one of whom was the clerk assigned to pay wages and fees in parts beyond seas to all persons of the duke's retinue (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1367-70, p. 439). See also p. 189, note 3. John Joce (see above) was an esquire of the same rank as Chaucer in 1369 (Kirk, p. 174).

[2] I. 157.

[3] Cf. Ramsay I. 490 ff.

[4] Armitage-Smith, p. 72.

[5] Armitage-Smith, p. 74.

[6] Kirk, p. 176; cf. Emerson, p. 337, note 61.

[7] Kirk, p. 171.

[8] Kirk, p. 174.

[9] Kirk, p. 175.

or 1391 should have been made by Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, grandson of Lionel,[1] and heir-presumptive to the crown after Richard II.[2] His father, Edmund, husband of Lionel's daughter, Philippa, was Viceroy of Ireland from 1380 till his death on Dec. 26, 1381.[3] The son, Roger, was made viceroy in January, 1381-2 (being then in his eleventh year), and continued nominally in this capacity till 1383.[4] Roger was again viceroy from 1395 till his death in 1398.[5] By Roger's widow, Eleanor,[6] Chaucer seems to have been made sole forester in the same year.[7] By Edmund, the fifth earl, son of Roger and Eleanor, the sub-forestership was granted to Thomas Chaucer[8] in 1416-7.[9]

The tradition, then, of Chaucer's services in Ireland under Lionel may well have lingered among the Prince's descendants, and have suggested in later times a reward to him and his.[10]

(5) *Henry's cousin, Richard II* (1367-1400), *son of the Black Prince.* Passing over Chaucer's official appointments and rewards during Richard's reign (1377-99), we note only the poet's *Parliament of Fowls,* probably written in 1381 to celebrate the betrothal of Richard with Anne of Bohemia.[11] See also Legouis' remarks (pp. 39 ff.) on the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women,* and the Envoy to *Steadfastness.*

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[1] Skeat 1. xl; Kirk, pp. xxxix-xl; and esp. Selby, in *Life-Records III,* pp. 120-1.

[2] Wylie 1. 3; Ramsay 2. 229; Beltz, p. 41; Gilbert, p. 273.

[3] Gilbert, pp. 244-7. He had agreed to govern the colony for three years, upon 'being paid twenty thousand marks, in discharge of all his expenses, including those of the men-at-arms and archers, which he undertook to provide, but without being held to account to the Crown; and it was also stipulated that the King's revenue in Ireland should be expended according to his directions' (Gilbert, pp. 244-5).

[4] Gilbert, pp. 248-251, 273.

[5] Gilbert, pp. 273, 278.

[6] Beltz, p. 219; Gilbert, p. 273.

[7] Kirk, pp. xl, 291; *Life-Records III,* p. 118.

[8] See p. 178.

[9] Kirk, pp. xl, 291; Skeat 1. l.

[10] Selby (*Life-Records III,* p. 121) speaks of the 'friendly connection, extending over more than forty years, between the poet and the distinguished descendants of Prince Lionel and Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster.'

[11] Tatlock, pp. 41-44.

Everything tends, then, to show, not only that Chaucer owed his offices to court-favor,[1] but that he was, as Professor Kittredge has said, 'a first-rate example of a "king's man."'[2] Legouis calls him 'a clever courtier, . . . for the sole merit of his verse could hardly explain the enduring favor which he enjoyed at court'[3]; and he adds (p. 20): 'Chaucer succeeded in winning for himself, and in keeping all his life, the protection, one might almost say the friendship, of John of Gaunt. The old king Edward III appreciated and loved him. Capricious Richard II gave him as constant a patronage as he was capable of, and, notwithstanding, the usurper Henry IV took him into favor from the time of his accession. Women, naturally partial to the poet of love, seem to have been particularly kind to him. There is every likelihood that the Duchess Blanche of Lancaster and Queen Anne of Bohemia were instrumental in obtaining many of the privileges he enjoyed.' Chaucer's reticence regarding matters of political concern—a mark of his prudence—has been touched on by Coulton,[4] and Skeat remarks[5] that 'perhaps it was not altogether without design that the poet, in his *House of Fame* [2. 647 ff.], took occasion to let the world know how he devoted his leisure time to other than political subjects.'

3. CHAUCER AND HENRY'S DEPENDENTS

Having considered Chaucer's connections with other members of royal and princely families, we now come to his relations with certain of the immediate dependents of Henry, Earl of Derby.

One of the latter was Otto (familiarly called Otes) de Granson, a nobleman of Savoy, who had received $2500 from John of Gaunt a quarter of a century before, had an annuity of $5000 from him in 1391-2, and was attached to Henry's second expedition (1392-3) at a higher salary than any one else, receiving over $5000 between Aug. 12 and May 31. A special cabin on the ship was built for him, Lord Willoughby, and others, and

[1] Coulton, p. 59.
[2] P. 162.
[3] P. 19.
[4] P. 50.
[5] 7. xxiv.

he was a member of an embassy from Henry to Jacques I of Cyprus in February, 1393. About that time his estates were confiscated, and on Nov. 18 of that year he received an annuity of $9500 from Richard II. He was killed in a duel, Aug. 7, 1397.[1] Between May 14, 1391, and May 14, 1392, he had presented a courser to Henry IV at Dartford, for which the servant whom he sent received a gratuity of $50.[2] This was the Granson to whom Chaucer, in his *Complaint of Venus* (1393),[3] imitated from the former's three balades,[4] refers in his last line as 'Graunson, flour [flower] of hem that make in France.' We thus find Chaucer, probably after the return of Henry, taking pains[5] to compliment a knight whom Henry had specially distinguished on his second voyage, and whom John of Gaunt had attached to his person long before.

Peter Bucton (or de Bukton), knight, and steward of Henry's household, was with him on both expeditions, that of 1390-91 and that of 1392-3. His ordinary salary was $3.75 a day, but on the *reyse* (Aug. 9-Oct. 31, 1390), and again from Nov. 24, 1392-June 30, 1393, it rose to $7.50.[6] He had an esquire, Robert Burton,[7] with two archers attending him from May 9 to June 3, 1390,[8] and a yeoman on the *reyse*.[9] He did not leave Henry until after the latter's return to London in 1393.[10] Chaucer, writing probably at the end of 1396[11] his *Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton,* calls him 'my maister Bukton.' He was mayor of Bordeaux as late as 1412, having perhaps been born about 1350.[12] Wylie calls him Henry's most attached and intimate friend.[13]

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[1] See the excellent note, *D. A.,* pp. 309-310, and *Romania* 19 (1890). 237-259, 403-448 (Piaget).

[2] Wylie 4. 163; *D. A.,* p. 309, note.

[3] Skeat 1. 86.

[4] Skeat 1. 400-404.

[5] Legouis (p. 54) says that Chaucer, in these closing lines, shows 'excess of deference.'

[6] *D. A.* 128. 7; 265. 15.

[7] *D. A.,* pp. 300, 303.

[8] *Ib.* 126. 12.

[9] *Ib.* 128. 7.

[10] *Ib.* 265. 17.

[11] Hammond, p. 367.

[12] *D. A.,* p. 300.

[13] 4. 142.

When at Prague on Oct. 22, 1392, Henry made oblation on the anniversary of the death of a son of Lewis Clifford, the father (born about 1336) having served with John of Gaunt at least as early as 1373. He was made Knight of the Garter in 1378,[1] and became an adherent of Wiclif, but finally recanted. In 1387 he was with John of Gaunt in Spain, though present at the Feast of St. George on April 23. He was at the jousts of St. Inglevert, as was Henry, in the spring of 1390, and joined the expedition against Mehediah in the same year. He died between Sept. 17 and Dec. 5, 1404.[2]

It seems to be generally agreed that Chaucer's *Lenvoy a Scogan* was written in 1393[3]; and we know that Scogan was at some time tutor to the four sons of Henry IV,[4] to whom he addressed a poem in the opening years of the new century.[5] This, then, is another link between Henry and Chaucer.

4. CHAUCER AND HENRY

As early as Feb. 19, 1386, Philippa Chaucer had been admitted to the fraternity of Lincoln Cathedral, together with Henry, Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Swynford, and six others, in the presence of John of Gaunt, who, with Edward III, the Black Prince, and Lionel, had been admitted in 1343 (Hotspur was to join on Feb. 15, 1386-7).[6]

If it had been demonstrated that Chaucer was born at King's Lynn,[7] in Norfolk, he would doubtless have been interested in the fact that Henry's second expedition began at Lynn on July 19, 1392; but this is a hypothesis not generally received as yet.

So far, then, there seems to be no evidence that Chaucer had stood in personal relations with Henry. On the other hand,

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[1] Beltz, p. 261.

[2] Beltz, pp. 260-264; Wylie 3. 296; Armitage-Smith, p. 155; Le Roulx, p. 176; *D. A.*, p. 312; Kittredge, in *Mod. Phil.* 1. 11-13.

[3] Hammond, p. 393.

[4] Skeat 1. 82; 7. xlii; in both places Skeat makes the princes too young (see above, p. 166, note 5), for in 1407 Henry would have been 21; Thomas, 20; John, 18; and Humphrey, 17—so that the poem was probably written earlier.

[5] Scogan died in 1407.

[6] Kirk, pp. xxxiii, 257; Coulton, p. 59.

[7] Coulton, p. 15, note; *Athenæum* for 1908; *Acad.* 75 (1909). 425; Rye, *Chaucer a Norfolk Man* (Norwich, 1915), pp. 1 ff.

as bearing upon the heartiness with which Chaucer would be disposed to welcome Henry's return, we must remember the former's relations with the House of Lancaster, and especially with Henry's father, John of Gaunt[1]; his friendship with several of Henry's intimate dependents[2]; the fact that Chaucer had been without employment for two years, and that in all that time he had received nothing, in addition to arrears due him on account, except $750 from Richard II on Jan. 9, 1393, which, free liver as he seems to have been,[3] meant to him a state of destitution; and, finally, that Henry's star was in the ascendant.

Everything seems to show, either that Chaucer had already been on exceptionally good terms with Henry, or else that he paid assiduous court to him on his return in 1393. Lounsbury, referring to Henry's gift to Chaucer on Oct. 3, 1399, three days after he had been declared king, says[4]: 'The rapidity with which this gift followed upon the accession of Henry IV to the throne seems almost to suggest a close personal tie between the monarch and the man of letters.'[5] But this was not the first patronage bestowed by Henry upon Chaucer after his return in 1393. Coulton, speaking of Chaucer's appeal in his last poem, remarks[6]: 'Henry was the son of Chaucer's best patron; and indeed the poet had recently been in close relations with the future King, if not actually in his service.' This alludes to Chaucer's receipt of ten pounds for payment to Henry, probably in 1395.[7] 'From this we may gather,' says Kirk, 'that he was in attendance on the Earl, and possibly retained in his service.' This view is confirmed by Wylie's statement[8]: 'In 1395, he received three ells of scarlet, cum furr' de Jonettes from Henry as Earl of Derby, the fur alone costing £8 8s. 4d.[9] (*i. e.*, 101 Jonettes at 20d. each).'

[1] Cf. pp. 177-8, above.

[2] Cf. pp. 190-2, above.

[3] Coulton, p. 54.

[4] I. 90.

[5] Kittredge speaks (p. 33) of 'the easy terms on which Chaucer stood with King Henry IV.' Skeat, referring to Chaucer's *Complaint to his Empty Purse*, and the king's grant just alluded to, says (I. xlv): 'It must have given him real satisfaction to be able to assist the old poet, with whom he must have been on familiar terms.'

[6] P. 67.

[7] Between Feb. 1, 1395, and Feb. 1, 1396. Cf. Kirk, p. 342.

[8] 4. 136 note, 3.

[9] $630.

If Chaucer was in straits, and desired to approach Henry, he would have found every encouragement in the earl's affability. 'He made himself a name for friendliness among all with whom he had to do [on his travels]. To the Scots he was half-Scot, and to the Prussians he was a child of Spruce.'[1] 'In Paris [1398-9] . . . he was sweet, gracious, courteous, neighborly, and well-liked by all who knew him.'[2] 'The Greek Emperor Manuel [1401] . . . was fascinated with his politeness.'[3] 'With winning ways and good looks, inherited from his mother and grandmother, of whom Froissart says that two more delightful women he never met, it is no marvel that Henry captured all hearts.'[4]

If Chaucer paid court to Henry on his return from abroad in 1393, he was not the only poet to do so. The new prologue to the *Confessio Amantis* was written in 1392-3, not later than June, 1393[5]—that is, just before Henry's arrival. Thus Gower dedicates the new edition to Henry[6]:

> This bok, upon amendment
> To stonde at his commandement,
> With whom myn herte is of accord,
> I sende unto myn oghne lord,
> Which of Lancastre is Henri nameˊd:
> The hyhe God him hath proclamed
> Ful of knyhthode and alle grace.

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[1] Wylie 4. 126.

[2] Wylie 4. 128.

[3] Wylie 4. 129-130.

[4] Wylie 4. 130-1. For the Londoners' attachment to him in 1397-8, and for his general popularity in England, see Froissart (tr. Johnes, Bk. 4, chaps. 94, 96, 102, 103, 104, 106, 110). Forty thousand Londoners thronged the streets on October 13, 1398, bitterly lamenting his departure from England (*op. cit.* 4. 96); the Mayor of London, with several prominent citizens, convoyed him to Dartford, and others even to Dover, where they saw him on the vessel that was to convey him to Calais (*ib.*). In fact, he left 'with the tears and regrets of half England' (Armitage-Smith, p. 404). Such affection is not the growth of a day, nor based on a single act; in part he was a sharer in the popularity of the House of Lancaster as the traditional guardian of the national liberties (Ramsay 2. 346), and his father has been described as for a dozen years the uncrowned king of England (Armitage-Smith, p. xxii; cf. p. xxviii).

[5] Gower 2. xxiii; cf. 2. 280, and marginal note to *Prol.* 24.

[6] *Conf. Am., Prol.* 83-89. With 89 cf. *Praise of Peace* 155.

Possibly it was the sense of rivalry with Chaucer for the favor of Henry at this time which led Gower to omit the tribute to Chaucer which was contained in the first version of his epilogue.[1] Henry's recognition of Gower's assiduity is probably shown by his gift of a collar to the poet in the autumn of 1393,[2] and his grant of two annual pipes of wine on Nov. 21, 1399.[3] But Gower's dedication quoted above was not his first compliment to Henry. Already in 1390 he had concluded the *Confessio* with this couplet:

> Derbeie comiti, recolunt quem laude periti,
> Vade, liber purus, sub eo requiesce futurus.[4]

The later dedication, however, is more flattering, and may, as Macaulay suggests, indicate 'that Gower had some discrimination in selecting a possible saviour of society.'[5] Whether Gower had been influenced by the prophecy, mentioned by Froissart,[6] that the descendants of the Duke of Lancaster should be kings of England, must of course be doubtful; but it is at least not impossible that Chaucer, who appears to have known Froissart,[7] should have laid it to heart. When Henry had become king, Gower dedicated to him his *Praise of Peace*.[8]

As we have seen, the circumstances were propitious for an interview between Henry and Chaucer. The poet had every reason to pay his homage to the prince, and the prince, as the sequel showed, was well affected toward the poet. On what various topics they may have conversed we can only offer conjectures, but they can hardly have failed to include Henry's visit to the tombs of Boethius and Augustine at Pavia,[9] and to that of his uncle Lionel,[10] now dead twenty-five years, in the

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[1] Cf. Lounsbury 1. 44 ff.

[2] Gower 4. xvi, note 7. The collar seems to have been valued at about $100.

[3] Wylie 4. 200.

[4] Gower 2. xxiii.

[5] Gower 2. xxiv.

[6] Kervyn 16. 235.

[7] See above, p. 184.

[8] Skeat 7. 205-216; Gower 3. 481-492.

[9] Chaucer himself may have seen these; cf. pp. 184-6, above.

[10] *D. A.*, pp. cxi; cf. Beltz, p. 131. Note that Henry's second son, Thomas (b. 1387), became the second Duke of Clarence in 1412.

same place, for all of these themes would have been welcome to Chaucer. Henry had visited each of these scarcely two months before.[1] Gian Galeazzo, whose sister Lionel had married, himself conducted Henry to the tomb of Augustine,[2] 'which', says Capgrave—but he was an Augustinian[3]—'he embraced, not without many thoughts' (*non sine magna contemplatione*).[4] Henry may also have talked about his visit with Wenceslaus, brother of Queen Anne, with whom he spent Oct. 21-24, 1392, at the king's hunting-seat of Bettlern, southwest of Prague[5]; and of that with another brother, or rather half-brother, Sigismund, King of Hungary, about Nov. 6, 1392.[6] He would surely have heard from Albert III of Austria,[7] brother-in-law of Anne, of his famous *reyse* in 1377, and the table of honor at which he had been present[8]; and the conversation might easily have turned to this, and to the exploits of Henry and his men at Vilna in the autumn of 1390, as detailed below.[9]

5. HENRY AT THE SIEGE OF VILNA

An interesting episode in Henry's career, consisting of his voyage to Prussia, adventures there, and return, is detailed at length in Vol. 52 of the Camden Society, New Series (1894),[10] edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. After lengthy preparations, and a false start, Henry sailed from Boston on July 19, 1390, reached Dantzic on Aug. 9, and Königsberg on Aug. 16. About a week later, the incursion (*reyse*) into Lithuania began, and Henry was back in Königsberg by Oct. 22. Here he remained till Feb.

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[1] *D. A.*, p. lxxvii.

[2] *D. A.*, pp. cxi, 277. 29.

[3] *D. A.*, p. lxviii.

[4] *D. A.*, p. cxi. As to Henry's interest in theology, see Wylie 4. 138. Augustine is referred to 22 times in the *Parson's Tale*, twice in the *Tale of Melibeus*, once in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, and (as St. Austin) 5 times besides.

[5] *D. A.*, pp. lxxiii, lxxxiii, 191-8, 310; Wylie 4. 139, note 11.

[6] *D. A.*, pp. lviii, lxxxiii, 195. 13.

[7] Nov. 4-7, 1392; cf. *D. A.*, pp. lix, lxxxiii.

[8] *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 14. 380.

[9] See pp. 197-202.

[10] *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby* (= *Derby Accounts*).

9, 1391. On Feb. 15 he was at Dantzic, and about April 1 set sail for home.

As it is the *reyse* which most concerns the student of Chaucer, from its bearing upon *Prol.* 54, the subjoined translations from chroniclers of the period have been chosen for their illustration of this part of Henry's journey.

I

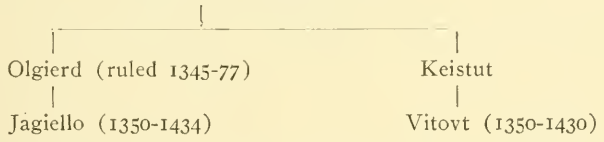
[Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, Rolls ed., 2. 197-8 (*D. A.*, p. cvi), tr. in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 1903, 1. 395.]

About the same time[1] L. Henry the Earle of Derbie travailed into Prussia [*Le Pruys*], where, with the helpe of the Marshall[2] of the same Province, and of a certaine king called Wytot,[3] hee vanquished

[1] Actually July 19, 1390, from Boston.

[2] Engelhard Rabe.

[3] Or Vitovt, who has been called 'the most imposing personality of his day in Eastern Europe' (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 28. 762). He was the cousin of Jagiello (Yagiello), at this time King of both Poland and Lithuania. The relationships of certain important Lithuanian rulers may be seen from this diagram:



Throughout this general period, Poland, Lithuania, and the Teutonic Order (whose territory corresponded broadly to East Prussia) were in constant rivalry. Of these, Lithuania had remained most persistently pagan, notwithstanding a succession of efforts to Christianize it, or at least to bring it under the domination of professedly Christian powers. Poland had invited in the Teutonic Order (1208)—which had been founded in Palestine as a Crusading organization—for its protection against the savage Prussians, who were akin to the Lithuanians; but mutual jealousy had since arisen. Lithuania began to be a powerful state under Gedymin, at a time when Poland was in an anarchic condition. Poland grew much stronger during the reign of Casimir the Great (1333-1370), who had married Gedymin's daughter. During Olgierd's reign Lithuania grew at the expense of Muscovy and the Tatars, until it finally touched the Black Sea between the Bug and the Dnieper. Meanwhile Keistut, who ruled in Samogitia (now the government of Kovno), Troki, and Grodno, maintained a border warfare with the Teutonic Order, not unlike that carried on for several centuries between Scotland and England. Shortly before his death in 1377, Olgierd accepted

the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captivitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the slaughter of three, besides more than three hundred of the principall common souldiers of the sayd armie which were slaine. The Citie also which is called Wil or Vilna (*Wille*),[1] into the castle whereof the king of Lettow named Skir-

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Christianity, but this had but little influence upon the fortunes of Lithuania. Jagiello succeeded Olgierd on the death of the latter, while Keistut remained in possession of his province. In 1380 Jagiello contracted a secret alliance with the Teutonic Order, an alliance which was aimed at his uncle Keistut. Two years after, he got Keistut into his power, and had him treacherously assassinated. No sooner was this done than the Teutonic Order, instead of leaving Jagiello in peaceful possession of his uncle's patrimony, raised up the latter's son Vitovt against him. However, Jagiello made peace with his cousin, and in 1386 became King of Poland by marriage with Jadwiga (*Hedwig*), heiress of the Polish crown. The consequence is well stated in the words of a competent writer, Robert N. Bain (*Encyc. Brit.* 21. 904): 'The transformation of the pagan Lithuanian chieftain Jagiello into the Catholic king of Poland, Wladislaus II, was an event of capital importance in the history of Eastern Europe. Its immediate and inevitable consequence was the formal reception of the Lithuanian nations into the fold of the Church. What the Teutonic Order had vainly endeavored to bring about by fire and sword for two centuries, was peacefully accomplished by Jagiello within a single generation, the Lithuanians, for the most part, willingly yielding to the arguments of a prince of their own blood, who promptly rewarded his converts with peculiar and exclusive privileges. The conversion of Lithuania menaced the very existence of the Teutonic Knights. Originally planted on the Baltic shore for the express purpose of Christianizing their savage neighbours, these crusading monks had freely exploited the wealth and the valour of the West, ostensibly in the cause of religion, really for the purpose of founding a dominion of their own, which, as time went on, lost more and more of its religious character, and was now little more than a German military forepost.' Moved by jealousy of Jagiello's brother, Skirgiello, whom the king had made Grand Duke of Lithuania, while Vitovt was merely governor of the principality of Grodno, the latter allied himself with the Teutonic Order in May, 1390.

[1] Built by Gedymin about 1321, and made his capital from 1323. It still has the ruins, on the summit of Castle Hill, of an octagonal tower of red brick, the remains of the castle built by Gedymin. On Feb. 17, 1387, 30,000 Lithuanians received Christian baptism at Vilna (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 28. 766). In the cathedral of St. Stanislaus is the tomb of Vitovt. Vilna is situated on the river Viliya (or Nerya), which is hardly 200 yards wide, and flows through winding gorges or defiles, densely shadowed by fir and birch. It stands on the slopes of its hills, in a region of lakes, tangled forests, and almost impassable marshes. It is about 120 miles distant from the German frontier, and its population

galle [properly, *Skirgiello*] fled for his savegard, was, by the valour of the sayd Earle especially and of his followers, surprised and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were slouthfull or at least ignorant of their intent, skaling the walles, advanced his colours thereupon.[1] And there were taken and (*vel*) slaine foure thousand of the common souldiers, and amongst others was slaine the king of Poland his brother,[2] who was our professed enemie. And the castle of the foresaid Citie was besieged for the space of five weekes: but by reason of the infirmities and inconveniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great masters of Prussia[3] and of Lifland would not stay any longer. There were converted of the nation of Lettowe eight persons unto the Christian faith. And the master of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey three thousand captives.

II

[John of Posilge (*S. R. P.* 3. 164-7), in *D. A.*, pp. cvii-cix.]

In this year, before the Assumption of the Virgin [Aug. 15], the Duke of Lancaster (*Langkastel*)[4] sailed by way of Dantzic[5] to Prussia with some three hundred men,[6] and, after buying horses and making preparations, set out with the Marshal[7] on an expedition (*reyse*) to Vilna. . . . When he [the Marshal] learned that Skirgiello (*Skirgal*) lay with a force on the Nerya,[8] they planned to send the boats up the Memel, and let the extra horses and the common people go forward[9] with all speed, while they selected the best in the army, and made their way through the Wilderness above Kovno, where

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approaches 200,000, having nearly doubled since 1883. Recent events have brought it into prominence.

[1] A certain yeoman of Lord Bourchier's received $150 because he was the first to lay hold of Henry's banner on the wall (*D. A.*, pp. xxx; 105. 9; 302). A gunner-archer (name not given), who was on the wall in the presence of Henry, received $25 (*ib.* 105. 24). Others to receive special rewards for services before Vilna were several miners (*ib.* 105. 20) and engineers (*ib.* 106. 1).

[2] Korygiello, baptized as Casimir, in command of the upper house.

[3] The Grand Master, Conrad Zöllner of Rothenstein, was not present; see above, note 2.

[4] Of course an error.

[5] He was at Dantzic on Aug. 9 and 10 (*D. A.*, p. xxxvi).

[6] Lucy Toulmin Smith believes 150-200 would be nearer the mark (*D. A.*, p. xlv).

[7] Miss Smith thinks he came up with the marshal on Aug. 22, probably near Ragnit (*D. A.*, p. xxix).

[8] 'Near where the Nerya (Wiliye) falls into the Memel,' also called the Niemen (*D. A.*, p. xxix).

[9] 'With the vessels' (*D. A.*, p. xxix).

Skirgiello lay and awaited them, without knowing that they were so near. So the Marshal came to a ford, and took Skirgiello by surprise. . . . Many of his people were cut off at the ford, and three dukes and eleven boyars were made prisoners, and sent home to Prussia. There were also taken two hundred saddled horses. All this happened on St. Augustine's day [Aug. 28]. From here the Marshal set out, when the ships had arrived and made ready, for Vilna. And they made two bridges over the Nerya, and besieged the house with three divisions: the Livonians, with one army; Vitovt, with the Samogitians and Lithuanians, of whom many had resorted to him, as the second; and the Marshal, with those from Prussia, as the third. On September 4 they arrived at Vilna, and set up their bombards, catapults, and mangonels, and stormed the upper house[1] vigorously, so that they gained possession of it. From this house over two thousand persons were captured and slain, and the fire was so great that they perished there all together, for inside were many goods, and the people from all about had fled thither, and piteous it was how they all burned. The other houses[2] were well manned, with artillery and bombards, and they defended themselves so valiantly that those without lay there five weeks, lacking two days, and yet could not gain the other houses. In the besieging host there was plenty of fodder, and no lack of meat and flour, which the Lithuanians and Samogitians brought in; one could ride away from the army for six miles round, and take what was needed without hindrance. . . . Finally, the powder was all shot away and other things used up, so that it was necessary to withdraw. The Lord of Lancaster from England was there, having a large number of good archers[3] who acquitted themselves right well, and he right

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[1] The wooden, oldest, or crooked house (Caro 3. 99).

[2] Two in number. These were walled or built with stone (*D. A.*, p. xxx). The Annals of Thorn have (*D. A.*, p. cvii): 'Ceperunt primum castrum Vilne non muratum, et interfecerunt multos, sed murata castra non obtinuerunt' (*S. R. P.* 3. 164 ff.).

[3] Sienkiewicz says (*Knights of the Cross* 2. 260): 'There are no better archers on earth than the English unless those of the Mazovian wilderness; but the Mazovians have not such good bows as the English. An English arrow will go through the best armor a hundred yards distant. I saw them at Vilno. And not a man of them missed, and there were some who could hit a falcon while flying.' Elsewhere (2. 23) he speaks of 'the unerring English archers who pierced a pigeon tied to a pole a hundred yards distant, and whose arrows went through breastplates as easily as through woollen stuff.' We are reminded that Chaucer's Knight is attended by a yeoman who is also an archer (*Prol.* 104-8; also a forester, like Chaucer himself after 1390; cf. pp. 188-9); the fact that no other servant attends the Knight throws the latter's choice into prominence. The yeoman of the *Friar's Tale* is his fellow: like

manfully with them. The foray resulted in much trade, especially after the upper house had been gained. And when everything had been done with the help and at the will of the Lord, they returned home, having lost no more than thirty men[1] slain and shot in the raid (*reysc*).

III

[Wigand von Marburg (*S. R. P.* 2. 642-3), in *D. A.*, pp. cix-cx.]

An incursion (*reysa*)[2] was made by the aforesaid Marshal, along with numerous foreigners, especially the son of the English Duke of Lancaster (*Lankasten*), the Earl of Derby (*Terpi*). Duke Vitovt (*Wytaudus*) was of the party, and the Samogitians went up on this side of the Memel. On the other side, Skirgiello (*Schirgal*) was stationed near Old Kovno[3] to prevent the Christians from crossing; this, however, he was not able to effect, for they found the ford and passed over it, and, the moment they had reached the further shore, the heathen fled, pursued by the Christians, who slew many of them. Three of the heathen dukes were taken, besides much booty.

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him, clad in green; like him, with 'arwes brighte and kene'; encountered 'under a forest-syde', as the Knight's yeoman was a 'forster.' That a yeoman (= valet) is practically identical with an archer is clear from the name valet-archer, in the account of wages paid to Derby's attendants on the expedition of 1390-91; there are *valetti sagittarii* (*D. A.* 128. 10), and the same man is now called yeoman, and now archer (*D. A.* 118. 23; 123. 31); cf. *D. A.*, p. xl, note. The 'mighty bowe' of the *Prologue* (108) is paralleled by the 'broad bows' (*arcubus latis*) which Henry bought for his journey (*D. A.* 34. 16)—four, as against eighty of the ordinary sort, and costing twice as much each.

[1] Two of Henry's knights had been captured, and were perhaps never released (*D. A.*, pp. xxxi-xxxii). See also note 20.

[2] For *reysa*, *reyse*, cf. Flügel, in *Angl.* 24. 444-5; *New Eng. Dict.*, s. v. Before Henry left England, his whole expedition was called a voyage (*D. A.* 1. 9; 2. 20, 24; 3. 15, 26; 4. 25, etc.). The *reys* proper lasted 66 days—Aug. 18-Oct. 22 (*D. A.*, p. xliii); for the word (*le Reys*) see *D. A.* 43. 31; 46. 12, 32 (and often); cf. *per totum* (sic) *reisam* (105. 18; 106. 11); *per totum le reisam* (106. 8). *Reze* is nearly equivalent to the French *chevauchée;* John of Gaunt's 'military promenade' in 1373 is spoken of by one author as a 'chevaucie,' and by another as a 'reze' (Armitage-Smith, p. 115).

[3] Kovno is 55 miles from the Prussian frontier, and in 1903 had a population of nearly 74,000, having more than trebled in forty years. It consists of a cramped Old Town and a New Town stretching up the side of the Niemen. The fork of the river-junction (the Niemen with the Wiliya) is an important feature of the city's strength. From 1384 to 1398 the town belonged to the Teutonic Order. Old Kovno here = Marienwerder.

> Then, as they approached Vilna, the banner of Ragnit was the first to cross the water, and there a certain knight, John de Loudeham (*Lutam*),[1] was slain. They attacked the wooden house, and quickly took it, and among the many slain was a king named Korygiello (*Karigal*).[2] . . . Duke Conrad[3] was slain with an arrow. Here they remained five weeks in continual conflict day and night.[4] . . .

6. OTHER ENGLISHMEN IN PRUSSIA[5]

Henry was by no means the first Englishman of rank to take service with the Teutonic Order; for more than half a century adventurous and ambitious spirits, among them men of the highest rank, had sought Prussia in quest of worldly renown, or at the bidding of the supreme pontiff of Christendom.

1328. As early as 1328, we find that Englishmen came to fight in the cause of the Order.[6] The Pope had proclaimed a crusade against the heathen Lithuanians, and incited the Dominicans to preach it zealously in various countries. King John of Bohemia, with a distinguished body of noblemen, was present, and the siege of Medewageln in February, 1329, is memorable for two events—the sparing of three thousand prisoners at the intercession of King John, when the Grand Master, Werner von Orseln (1324-1330), would have had them cut down, and his loss of one eye through the excessive cold and dampness[7] (but Lützow, *Bohemia,* Everyman's Library, p. 64, places this in 1336).

1331, July. Robert Ufford, first Earl of Suffolk.[8] He is said to have led a hundred knights. The war in question was one

[1] This was in the battle at the ford (Aug. 28). John de Loudeham was aged 25 (*D. A.,* pp. 303-4).

[2] See p. 199, note 2.

[3] Takvyl, a brother of Vitovt; Conrad was his baptismal name (Caro 3. 100).

[4] Among modern accounts of the adventure, cf. those of Voigt (5. 541-9); Caro (3. 98-100); and Ramsay (2. 278-9).

[5] This section, while somewhat of a digression, is introduced for the sake of its bearing on the general argument.

[6] Voigt 4. 428.

[7] Voigt 4. 426 ff.; Caro 2. 131-2.

[8] Wigand (*S. R. P.* 2. 479): 'Multi peregrini de Anglia advenerant, Thomas de Offart comes,' etc.; cf. Capgrave, *De Illustribus Henricis.* But in 1331 there was no earl of that name. The first Earl of Suffolk was Robert Ufford (ca. 1299-1369), created 1337. Wigand must of course have written after this date.

with Poland, in which the metropolitan city of Gnesen was burnt and ruined, including churches and other ecclesiastical buildings, a devastation which was terribly avenged by the Poles at Plowce on Sept. 27.[1]

1348, January. The same Earl of Suffolk, again called Thomas,[2] with many Englishmen.

1351. Henry of Lancaster, 'the most prominent man in England,'[3] and grandfather of Henry, Earl of Derby.[4] Knighton relates, under the year 1351:

> Capta est treuga inter reges Angliæ et Franciæ. Et super hoc Henricus dux Lancastrie transivit versus le Sprusiam cum multis viris in sua comitiva de maioribus regni. Et cum pervenisset in altam Almaniam, arestatus est cum aliis multis de sociis suis, et fecit redemptionem pro se et suis de iii mile scutis auri. In hoc itinere mortuus est Dominus le Ros.

Lancaster returned the following year.[5] It is this expedition which may well have served, save in its disappointing outcome, as a model for Lancaster's grandson, the Earl of Derby.

1357. Various knights and their followers came from England and Scotland. Of Scottish knights, Thomas Byset and Walter Moigne are named in a safe-conduct of Aug. 20, 1356, and, of Scottish esquires, Norman Lesselin [Leslie] and Wauter [Walter] his brother.[6]

1362, before March 13. Winrich von Kniprode, the famous Grand Master, sails up the Memel to Kovno, with guests from England,[7] Italy, and Germany, and silently passes Welun and Bisten.[8] This is the year commonly assigned to the visit of Scrope, but see the next head (1363).

[1] Voigt 4. 488 ff.; Caro 2. 157-163.

[2] Voigt 5. 61 ff.; *S. R. P.* 2. 514.

[3] Armitage-Smith, p. 13 (cf. p. 23).

[4] See p. 176.

[5] Voigt 5. 95-6; *D. A.*, p. xvii; *S. R. P.* 2. 741-2.

[6] Voigt 5. 125; Rymer. The Leslies were witnesses to a compact between the Signoria of Florence and part of the White Company, signed in the Palazzo Vecchio on July 28, 1364 (Temple-Leader and Marcotti, *Sir John Hawkwood*, p. 31).

[7] Voigt 5. 151.

[8] Also called Pisten, Piskre, Biskre.

1363, Lent. Various Englishmen arrive.[1] That Scotchmen were also present can only be inferred from the safe-conducts granted to Thomas, Earl of Mar, and the esquire, David Barclay.[2]

Sir Geoffrey Scrope (ca. 1342-1363). The deposition of Sir Henry Ferrers, taken in 1386,[3] testifies 'that he saw . . . the said Sir Geoffrey so armed in Prussia, and afterwards in Lithuania before a castle called Piskre, and that he there died, and from there his body was brought back into Prussia and interred, in the same arms, in the Cathedral (*dom*) of Königsberg, where they were placed on a tablet, as a memorial, before the altar.' To a similar effect is the deposition[4] of John Rither, Esq.: 'After that expedition peace was made, when Sir Geoffrey Scrope went, with other knights, into Prussia, and there, in an affair (*reisc*) at the siege (*saute*) of Wellon in Lithuania, he died in these arms, and was buried in the Cathedral (*dom*) of Königsberg, where the said arms are painted in a glass window, which the Deponent himself caused to be set up, taking the blazon from the arms which the deceased had upon him.' More briefly that of Thomas de Boynton[5]: 'He saw also Sir Geoffrey Scrope, son and heir of Sir Henry Scrope, interred at Königsberg, under the said arms with a difference.' And that of Sir Thomas Fitz Henry[6]: 'He also said that, when in Prussia, he saw one Sir Geoffrey Scrope buried under those arms with a difference.'

These five, then, were in Prussia—but when? The depositions do not say, but the year is generally assumed to have been 1362. Against this is the fact that no Englishmen are reported by the Continental chroniclers to have arrived in 1362. Wigand of Marburg, however, does report their presence in 1363.[7] Before the expedition began, a dispute arose between Ulrich of Hanau, a prominent nobleman, and the English, as to who should carry the banner of St. George—a dispute decided

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[1] Voigt 5. 164.
[2] Voigt 5. 164; Rymer, under Feb. 5 and Feb. 20, 1363.
[3] *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, ed. Nicolas, 2. 445.
[4] *Ib.* 2. 353.
[5] *Ib.* 2. 310.
[6] *Ib.* 2. 321.
[7] *S. R. P.* 2. 544.

against the English.[1] In April both Pisten and Welun were totally destroyed by fire, the inhabitants having been forced to flee.[2] This, then, must be the *reyse* which included an attack on 'a castle called Piskre,' and the storming (rather than 'siege') of Welun. It was an affair of so little moment that Voigt, the historian of Prussia, does not even mention it. When Sir William de Lucy, who had served in Prussia,[3] was in that country, has not been ascertained.

1365, July 20. William Ufford, second (ca. 1339-1382) Earl of Suffolk (and last of his line), and Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (ca. 1313-1369). After April 13, there had been a three days' raid in the district of Erogeln[4] and Pastow, at which was present the 'comes de Warwig, qui etiam per annum stetit in Prussia cum suis.'[5] On July 25 both earls were present at Königsberg at the baptism of Butavt, son of Keistut, who had fled from imprisonment at the hands of his father. Butavt received the name of Henry.[6] He had surrendered himself at Insterburg, whereupon the preceptors of the Order, convoked at Marienburg for the purpose, decided to have the baptism take place at Königsberg, on account of the presence there of the two earls.[7]

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[1] Voigt 5. 164.

[2] *S. R. P.* 2. 84, 540, 546. Welun is on the Memel, about one-third of the distance from Marienburg to Baierburg (Toeppen, *Atlas zur Hist.-Comp. Geog. von Preussen* (II), Gotha, 1858). It is not to be confounded with Vilna, as is done by Manly (*Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 38. 101, note 2). Pisten is near the junction of the Dubissa with the Memel (Toeppen).

[3] *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, ed. Nicolas, 2. 261-2 (1. 78).

[4] On the Dubissa river. *See Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 14. 386.

[5] Wigand of Marburg (*S. R. P.* 2. 548-9); Voigt 5. 175.

[6] Voigt 5. 176-8; Chron. Liv. (*S. R. P.* 2. 85); Wigand (*S. R. P.* 2. 551).

[7] Wigand (*S. R. P.* 2. 551). This occurrence is much distorted in later accounts. Thus in the *Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard Beauchamp* [1382-1439], *Earl of Warwick* (Longmans), we are told (Plate XXII), that 'Earl Thomas his grandfadre . . . in warre had taken the kynges son of Lettowe, and brought hym into Englond, and cristened hym at London, namyng hym after hymself Thomas.' And Stubbs, relying on the traditions of the Beauchamps, reports (p. 194):

1366. Several noblemen came from England. Wigand[1] names 'Dominus Bemunt and Nortz Vewater Anglicus,' but the former of these is probably Gui de Blois, Sire de Beaumont, the patron of Froissart. The error of regarding him as an Englishman may repose upon his recent sojourn in England 'as a hostage for King John.'[2] 'Nortz Vewater Anglicus' may rather have been a Fleming, judging from his name, and his association with Gui.

1377. Sir Ekhart of Scotland is named by Suchenwirt.[3]

1385. Sir William Martel is mentioned as being present at a table of honor.[4]

1390. This, as we have seen, was the year of Henry's arrival.[5]

1391. Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, William Douglas, and perhaps John Montagu, Earl of Salisbury. Many Englishmen arrived in this year.[6] In September the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Derby's uncle, was commissioned to go to Prussia to treat with the Grand Master.[7] It does not appear that this was a martial expedition, and in any case the duke encountered violent storms, and was driven back.[8] The same year, William Douglas of Nithsdale, who had been engaged in a tilting-match with Thomas, Lord Clifford (ca. 1368-ca. 1391), in the spring of 1390,[9] appeared at Königsberg, and was slain, together with one of his followers, in an affray with a party of

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'In the great battle in Turkey, fought Nov. 1, 1364, he took prisoner a son of the King of Lithuania, whom he brought back to England, and made a Christian.' Cf. Barnes, *Hist. Edward III,* p. 669.

[1] Voigt 5. 187.

[2] Cf. *Encyc. Brit.* 11. 244.

[3] See *Journ. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 14. 386.

[4] Voigt 5. 472, note 2 (cf. pp. 474, 717).

[5] See above, p. 196.

[6] Voigt 5. 595.

[7] Rymer, under Sept. 5, Sept. 16, and Dec. 16.

[8] *D. A.*, pp. xv-xvi; Ramsay 2. 279; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 56. 155; 26. 32; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* 2. 302; Higden, *Polychr.* 9. 261-2; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* 1903, 1. 306-7.

[9] Ramsay 2. 277; Higden, *Polychr.* 9. 236; *Chron. Lond.* (Nicolas), p. 78; *Rot. Scot.* 2. 103-111; cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 11. 77. For Clifford in an encounter with Boucicaut, see Le Roulx, p. 161 (cf. p. 176, note 2).

English.[1] Boucicaut (1366-1421), who had been one of the challengers at the jousts of St. Inglevert[2] in the spring of 1390, was present at Königsberg (the third time he had been in Prussia), and growing indignant at what he considered treason on the part of the English toward Douglas, offered to prove it on their heads; but they refused to entertain a challenge from any but the Scotchmen.[3]

Sir John Montagu, afterwards third Earl of Salisbury (1350?-1400), having done homage for his father's estate, obtained the king's licence to journey into Prussia with a retinue of ten servants,[4] but nothing further is known of the project.[5]

1392. Sir Henry Percy (1364-1403), better known as Hotspur, who had been in the train of Derby at the jousts of St. Inglevert,[6] and was to stand by Henry as events moved toward his assumption of the crown,[7] must have been in Prussia by June of this year, at latest.[8] A contention arose between him and Rupert of Schokendorf as to which should carry the banner of St. George,[9] but Vitovt and his wife smoothed mat-

[1] Voigt 5. 596; Wigand (quoted by Voigt); John of Posilge (*ib.* 3. 172-3); the Older Chronicle of the Grand Masters (*ib.* 3. 619-20); Fordun, ed. Goodall, Bk. 14, chap. 56 (*2.* 416).

[2] Between Calais and Boulogne. Henry was present, and on April 20 took part in the jousting (Le Roulx, p. 176). Cf. *D. A.*, pp. 296, 300; Kervyn 14. 44-45, 105-151, 416-7, 420; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 26. 32; Wylie 4. 279, and the authorities there cited. King Richard seems also to have been present, and to have been eclipsed by Henry (Gower 2. xxv; Wylie 1. 5; *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard II* (London, 1846), p. xliv.

[3] Voigt 5. 596; *Livre des Faicts du Bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, chap. 18 (Michaud et Poujoulat, *Nouv. Coll. des Mém.* 2. 232-3).

[4] Beltz, p. 363; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 38. 205.

[5] Beltz' suggestion that he probably was associated with Henry in his expedition against the Lithuanians is of course absurd. He eventually became an enemy of Henry, rebelled against him, and was beheaded by a mob; cf. Shakespeare, *Richard II* 2. 4; 3. 3; 5. 6.

[6] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 44. 396.

[7] Kervyn 16. 109, 192; Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* 1. 54; cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 44. 397.

[8] Caro 3. 110.

[9] Wigand (*S. R. P.* 2. 646, 648); Voigt 5. 607-8; *D. A.*, p. 1 (cf. above, under 1363); Voigt 5. 151; *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 14. 382; Coulton, p. 278.

ters over. Vitovt, who was at this moment meditating treachery against the Teutonic Order, with which he had been allied, appeared about June 24 at the castle of Ritterswerden. On arriving at Tzuppa, between Insterburg and Kovno,[1] Vitovt sent Percy and the other foreigners back to Königsberg, with the assurance that he did not need them.[2] He then proceeded to reveal his renewed enmity to the Order by making the garrison of Ritterswerden prisoners, and burning the castle to the ground.[3] The next year after these events Hotspur was in Cyprus,[4] as was Henry also,[5] though probably they were not together.[6] It is painful to reflect that ten years after these visits to Cyprus (July 21, 1403), Henry, to the shout of 'Henry Percy King!' replied with the counter-shout, 'Henry Percy dead!' and that the king's 'success involved the loss of all popularity, and all future comfort.'[7]

Henry, Earl of Derby. Having taken ship at Heacham on July 24, Henry was at Königsberg by Sept. 2, but appears to have left by Sept. 3 or 4.[8] The Teutonic Order seems to have paid him $30,000 toward the expenses of this expedition,[9] though they made no use of his services.[10]

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[1] *D. A.*, p. xlix.

[2] Wigand (*S. R. P.* 2. 648); Caro 3. 110.

[3] Voigt 5. 612; Caro 3. 110.

[4] *D. A.*, p. 311; Stubbs, p. 198; Raine, *Extracts from the Northern Registers*, p. 425.

[5] *D. A.*, pp. lxv, lxxvii.

[6] A letter written July 15 by the King of Cyprus mentions Hotspur, but not Henry—and Henry had been there in February.

[7] Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* 1. 63, 64; cf. Coulton, p. 51.

[8] *D. A.*, pp. xlviii, lxxii.

[9] *D. A.*, p. xlix.

[10] So far from receiving anything from the Order on his first mission, it seems that he paid $1000 to two Prussian knights who attended him on the campaign of about two months, to say nothing of other expenses on the foray. If Chaucer, then, had Henry in mind in drawing the portrait of his Knight, as Hertzberg (p. 579) in 1866 was the first to suggest, it would seem that Trevelyan is wide of the mark when he says (*England in the Age of Wycliffe*, p. 59) that the latter 'has returned from letting out his services abroad, and is the sort of person to enter into a similar contract with some noble at home.' For the nine and a half months he was absent from England, Henry spent something like $330,000, of which he provided about $62,500, and his father, John of Gaunt, the rest.

1394, January or February. John Beaufort.[1] The eldest natural son of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford was possibly with his half-brother Henry on the latter's return to England in 1391.[2] At all events, he (Wigand calls him Bekvort) was in Prussia in 1394,[3] and took part in an expedition to Grodno, Novogrodek, Lyda, and Merecz, in which 2200 prisoners were made, and 1400 horses and much cattle carried off.[4] John had been with Henry at St. Inglevert in the spring of 1390, and had actually gone on the Barbary crusade,[5] as Henry had planned to do.[6]

7. HENRY'S ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE TABLE OF HONOR, AND ITS BEARING ON THE DATE OF THE PROLOGUE

Henry would, no doubt, as we have already intimated,[7] have talked with Chaucer about the Teutonic table of honor. That Chaucer should have learned about it from any other source is unlikely, for we know definitely of only five occasions when it was held—in 1377, 1385, 1391, 1392, and 1400.

1377. This was described in a previous article.[8] It was held at Königsberg before the *reyse*.[9] Henry would probably have heard it described by a prominent participant, Albert III of Austria.[10]

1385. In this year there was a great feast at Königsberg, at which were present 55 knights, 7 barons, 7 bannerets, and

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[1] Born ca. 1372 (Armitage-Smith, pp. 391, 462, 464-5); the Percy MS. 78 (see the last reference) says that he was born in the lifetime of Blanche, that is, before Sept. 12, 1369; others say ca. 1375 (*D. A.*, p. 301).

[2] *D. A.*, p. 301; but cf. p. xxxv.

[3] Wigand (*S. R. P.* 2. 653); Voigt 6. 10; Caro 3. 154-5.

[4] Voigt 6. 11; Caro 3. 154. By March 14 he was in Dantzic, where he had to give a note for 312 gold nobles, probably for his return-fare, and that of his companions Stephen Scrope and three others, to England (note to Wigand, as above).

[5] *D. A.*, p. xxxviii; cf. Le Roulx, pp. 176, 242.

[6] *D. A.*, pp. xxxix-xliii.

[7] See above, p. 196.

[8] 'Beginning the Board in Prussia,' *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil.* 14. 375-388.

[9] Voigt 5. 278-9.

[10] See above, p. 196.

25 esquires (*gute Knechte*).[1] At the high table of honor were seated fourteen guests, of whom only one was an Englishman, Sir William Martel.[2] It can hardly be from him, of whom history records so little, that Chaucer learned of the custom.

1391. This was the year in which Henry was in Prussia, but the feast was held after his departure.[3] On account of the dissension between the English and the French,[4] the table of honor was not held at Königsberg, but after the army had advanced into the enemy's country.[5] Here the board was magnificently spread on Sept. 1,[6] the place chosen being an island (*Werder*),[7] in the vicinity of Old Kovno.[8] The viands had been brought from Königsberg. The banquet took place in a splendid pavilion, and there was abundance of gold and silver vessels.[9] Among the honored guests was Frederick, Margrave of Meissen, who had come with 700 horses, and he who began the board was Conrad Richartssdorf of Austria, who had been one of the fourteen at the table of honor in 1385.[10] Whether Boucicaut, Frederick, or any of the Englishmen or Scotchmen,[11] was thus signalized, we can only conjecture.

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[1] Voigt 5. 471-2.

[2] Above, p. 206; Voigt 5. 472, note 2.

[3] The statements of Dlugosz and Kojalowicz that a table of honor was held in 1390 seem to rest on confusion with that of 1391, though Dlugosz (*Hist. Pol.* 1. 127-8) is explicit on the point that Henry was present (Voigt 5. 543).

[4] Above, p. 207.

[5] The table of honor seems not to have been held on the return from an expedition (*nach erfochtenem Siege*), as Treitschke supposes (1. 81).

[6] Caro 3. 105.

[7] Probably Ritterswerder, about 2½ miles from Kovno.

[8] Wigand says: 'ubi quondam antiquum Cawen stetit'; John of Posilge 'ken Cawen obir die Nerye'; the Ältere Hochmeisterchronik: 'zur alde Kawen uff dem werder.'

[9] Voigt 5. 597.

[10] Wigand (*S. R. P.* 2. 644-5); Ält. Hochmeisterchronik (*ib.* 3. 619-20); John of Posilge (*ib.* 3. 172-3).

[11] Bower says (Fordun, ed. Goodall, 2. 416): 'Isto anno proditionaliter interfectus est ab Anglicis nobilis Willelmus Douglas de Nyddisdale super pontem de Danskin in Spruza, qui tunc ammiralduș electus fuit ducentarum et quadraginta navium, ad oppugnandum Paganos, qui eo tunc, præ ceteris, *ad mensam honoris magistri de Spruza ab herellis præconizatus est.*'

The order of precedence was determined according to the general principles: 'noch seyner ere, dy her [er] vordynet hette in ritterlichen gescheften' (Ælt. Hochm.); 'nach ritterlichen ere' (*ib.*); 'der [Conrad] was der gepreiseste in ritterlichen gescheften, wen her was obir lant gerethen zcu dem heiligen grabe' (*ib.*)[1] The ceremony had never before been so brilliant (John of Posilge).

1392. In the autumn of this year, the marshal, Engelhard Rabe, held another table of honor at Johannisburg, south of Lake Spirding. Apel Fuchs of Franconia, who bore the banner of St. George, began the board.[2]

1393. In January of this year there was an expedition against Grodno, in which the Duke of Guelders was present,[3] and with reference to which one historian speaks of a table of honor being proclaimed[4]; but I find no confirmation of this.

1400. The decline of the institution is shown by its employment as a mark of honor to the wife of Vitovt in the summer of 1400, when she and the chief members of her retinue were entertained at Marienburg. At this banquet the guests were presented with jewels and gilded drinking-cups, steeds and palfreys, etc.

With this the ceremony seems to have ended. It may well have originated in an impulse derived from Edward III's institution of the Order of the Garter, which in turn may have been influenced by the stories of Arthur's Round Table.[5] It was now at the end of its usefulness, as were the raids which it served to encourage.[6]

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[1] We see that if Henry had already visited the Holy Sepulchre, as he was to do early in 1393, this of itself would have been a strong recommendation.

[2] Wigand (*S. R. P.* 2. 648-9); Dlugosz, *Hist. Pol.* 1. 137; Voigt 5. 624.

[3] Voigt 5. 636-7.

[4] Caro 3. 154.

[5] Voigt 5. 712; Treitschke 1. 81. There had been a 'Round Table,' presided over by Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, in 1328 (Knighton; Avesbury). See also Bateson, *Mediæval England,* pp. 310-1, and especially *Archæologia* 31 (1846). 104 ff.

[6] Caro (3. 153) speaks of 'die allmälig in Europa sich verbreitende Anerkennung der Thatsache, dass mit Ausnahme von Samogitien kein

Of the five occasions enumerated above, Henry would have heard of the first from Albert of Austria, and surely of the third and fourth when in Prussia, or afterwards in conversation with such knights as Boucicaut, whom he would meet on his foreign travels. That of 1400 was too late, so that only that of 1385 remains—in other words, Henry would probably have been acquainted, through eye-witnesses, with every table of honor of which we have any record previous to his return to England in 1393. Is it easy to escape the presumption that it is through him that Chaucer acquired the information which he so deftly uses in the *Prologue,* since we can think of no other historic person so likely as he to have been the medium of communicating it?

8. THE CURRENT THEORY REGARDING THE DATE OF THE PROLOGUE

The course of our inquiry, then, has led us to conclude that the *Prologue,* or at least the description of the Knight, can not well have been written before Henry's return in 1393. What specific arguments are there for an earlier date? The one which is commonly relied on is that of Hales in favor of 1387, printed in 1893.[1] He declares that the evidence for placing the *Prologue* so late is extremely slight, if indeed there is any. His argument for 1387 is as follows. The merchant

> wolde the see were kept for any thing
> Bitwixe Middelburgh and Orewelle.

Now in 1384, and again in 1388, the woolstaple was at Calais, but between those dates it was at Middelburgh, and at no other time; 'so only just at that time could the merchant's words have their full significance—have a special pointedness.' Chaucer

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Objekt für Heidenkämpfe mehr vorhanden, und dass die Litthauer wirklich Christen geworden waren: eine Ueberzeugung, welche zugleich mit dem Erlöschen des letzten aufflackernden Feuers einer ehrlich gemeinten Romantik zusammenfiel und den Orden, der von diesen Bedingungen abhängig war, seiner besten Hülfsquellen beraubte. Nur noch wenige "Kriegsreisen" werden wir daher zu verzeichnen haben.' Again (3. 154) he characterizes these forays as savage, and now [1394] partly obsolete. For the appeal made by these forays at an earlier period, cf. Voigt 5. 167-8, 183-4, 551.

[1] *Athenæum,* April 8; reprinted in Hales, 1893, pp. 99-101.

was not relieved from daily attendance at the Custom House till February, 1385, and he did the *Legend of Good Women* as soon as this leisure came to him. Hence the *Prologue* was probably composed immediately after 1386—that is, in 1387.[1]

To Hales' argument it may be replied:

1. The need that the sea should be kept was keenly felt during the whole period 1372-87.[2]

2. There was need much later than this for keeping the sea. In the *Libel of English Policy* (1436), the very first stanza insists 'that we be masters of the narrow sea.'

3. Middelburgh and Orwell may be used merely as representative names, just as, in the book last named, the author, while recognizing Bruges as the 'staple fayre' of Flanders, talks of Dover and Calais—

> And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see
> Betweene Dover and Caleis.

4. One of the most memorable naval victories ever won by the English was that of Sluys in 1340, and Edward III took passage for this encounter from Orwell.[3] Sluys (l'Ecluse) is a later name for Swyn, and is virtually identical with Middelburgh. Chaucer may then have desired to remind his countrymen of this glorious occasion by a mention of the ports of departure and destination.

5. Even if it were granted that Chaucer had in mind the period 1384[4]-8, it would not follow that the lines were written

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[1] Cf. Tatlock, pp. 147, 150. Tatlock argues that the merchant was a member of the staple, and dealt in wool; and, in corroboration, reminds us that 'he even wears a "Flaundrish bever hat."' However, Edward III wore a 'bever hat' in 1350, at Espagnols-sur-Mer (Kervyn 5. 267); was Edward III, then, a merchant of the staple? (It is well known that he went to France, disguised as a merchant, in April, 1331).

[2] Coulton, p. 133: 'Our crushing defeat by the combined French and Spanish navies off La Rochelle in 1372 lost us the command of the sea until our victory at Cadzand in 1387'; cf. Nicolas, *Hist. Royal Navy* 2. 141, 319 ff. As a result of the victory, we are told by Nicolas: 'The prizes were sent to Orwell and other ports; . . . the citizens of Middelburgh offered to purchase the wine.'

[3] Nicolas, *op. cit.* 2. 46, 502. At this battle Henry of Lancaster distinguished himself (*ib.* 2. 59).

[4] Jenckes (*The Origin . . . of the Staple,* p. 79) says 1383.

then. As Wells acutely observes[1]: 'This implies composition after 1384, but gives no *terminus ad quem.*'

Hales' argument, in the same paper,[2] from *Venus* 76-8, that Chaucer's right hand may have been losing its cunning in 1393, is sufficiently refuted by Lounsbury,[3] who finds allusions by Chaucer to his old age in *House of Fame* 992-9 [not later than 1384], *Legend of Good Women* 258-263, 313-6 [ca. 1385], *Scogan* 29-42 [ca. 1393], as well as in the *Venus*. Of the latter he asks: 'Can it be seriously maintained that these are the words of a man who was no more than sixty at the utmost?'

The arguments in favor of the earlier date, then, seem quite insufficient to overthrow the considerations which point to 1393 or later.

We have now seen (pp. 166, 175) that Chaucer may have witnessed Henry's progress from Dartford to London on July 5, 1393, and that his impressions are probably recorded, with some poetical embellishment, in *K. T.* 1297-1328; that Chaucer's relations with the royal family, including John of Gaunt, were such as to recommend him to Henry (pp. 177-8); that Chaucer was on friendly terms with prominent members of Henry's suite (pp.190-192); that there was every reason why Chaucer should pay court to Henry, and that they would not have lacked topics of conversation (pp. 193-6); that Henry, like Chaucer's knight, had 'reysed' in 'Lettowe' (pp. 196 ff.); that Henry, beyond any man whom Chaucer is likely to have known, had the amplest opportunity to acquaint himself with the facts concerning the table of honor, and that the brilliant celebration of the feast in 1391, at no great distance from the scene of Henry's exploits in the previous year, must have been most impressive to his imagination (pp. 210-1); and that therefore the part of the *Prologue* relating to the knight is not likely to have been written before the summer of 1393 (p. 212), the same being probably true of *K. T.* 1297-1328.[4]

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[1] *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, p. 691.

[2] Pp. 101-2.

[3] I. 33-42.

[4] If the *Knight's Tale* is to be dated as late as 1393, then the Clanvowe who was the author of *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale* was probably Sir Thomas, rather than Sir John, his father, as Kittredge supposes (*Mod.*

Phil. 1. 14 ff.), since the date of Sir John's death is thought to have been 1391 (Skeat 7. lviii), and the poem quotes *K. T.* 927-8. Other facts point in the same direction. Lines 284-5,

> Before the chambre-window of the quene
> At Wodestok,

must refer, as Skeat points out, to a time when there was a queen at Woodstock, who must therefore have been Joan of Navarre, queen from 1403 to 1413. John Clanvowe was M. P. in 1348, would therefore presumably have been born as early as 1327, and have been at least 63 in 1390, a date which Kittredge considers possible. His son, M. P. in 1394, would be more nearly of the age for writing a love-poem of this sort. Then the allusion to the eagle, if it refers to Henry (see above, p. 171), would more aptly fit the last decade of the century, or the first of the following. Indeed, Henry Bradley (*New Eng. Dict.* s. v. Grede) dates the poem 1402-10.

II. CHAUCER'S KNIGHT AND HIS EXPLOITS IN THE SOUTH

The Knight's adventures in the South were distributed through the Mohammedan lands which bordered the Mediterranean on the east, south, and west, where, like his adversary, 'banished Norfolk,' he was to be found

> Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
> Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens.

His exploits were performed at Palátia, Satalia, and Ayas, on the eastern coast; at Alexandria, Tlemçen, and in Morocco, on the southern; and at Algeciras, where the Pillars of Hercules still said, *Ne plus ultra.* Thus the range of his crusading territory—to say nothing of Prussia, Lithuania, and Russia—was nearly 2300 miles from end to end. The period within which fall the historic exploits which Chaucer had in mind extends from 1343 to about 1367.

> At Alisaundre he was, whan it was wonne. . . .
> In Gernade at the sege eek hadde he be
> Of Algezir, and riden in Belmarye.
> At Lyeys was he, and at Satalye,
> Whan they were wonne; and in the Grete See
> At many a noble armee hadde he be.
> At mortal batailles hadde he been fiftene,
> And foughten for our feith at Tramissene
> In listes thryes, and ay slayn his fo.
> This ilke worthy knight had been also
> Somtyme with the lord of Palatye,
> Ageyn another hethen in Turkye:
> And evermore he hadde a sovereyn prys.

Alexandria, October 10, 1365. Pierre I of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, with 108 vessels of his own, and 10 from Rhodes, arrived on Oct. 9 at Alexandria, said by a contemporary to be as thickly populated as Paris, as beautiful as Venice, and as strong as Genoa. An engagement took place on the 10th, and Alexandria fell, but his Continental auxiliaries, realizing that they could not hold the city, decided the king to evacuate it after three days of pillage. There were present knights from Provence,

Guienne, Lombardy, Flanders, England, and Germany.[1] Of the English, we know only the names of Sir Stephen Scrope (ca. 1345-1406) and Nicholas Sabraham. According to Sabraham, Scrope, immediately on landing, received the order of knighthood from the King of Cyprus.[2] There was also an unnamed Scottish knight who distinguished himself by his valor, and was slain while attacking the gate of the custom house.[3] A picturesque incident was the fighting in the shallow water on the beach, where 8000 Christians engaged a much larger number of Mussulmans.[4] The victory has been described as a brilliant, but fatal success.[5]

Algezir, summer of 1343. Algecira(s), Algezira(s).[6] Froissart's *Algesiras, Argesille, Arsesille;* Jean le Bel's *Algheside, Alg(h)esyde.* The name is Arabic, and signifies 'island,' the whole term being *al-Gazîra al-Khadrâ* (otherwise transliterated as *al-Djezirah-al-Hadra*), 'green island,' from an islet opposite, called even now *Isla Verde.* The little town lies just across the bay from Gibraltar, 6 miles to the west. It has recently come into notice because of the international conference on Moroccan affairs, held there from Jan. 16 to April 7, 1906.[7]

After Alfonso XI's remarkable victory over the invading Moors at Salado (or Tarifa), on Nov. 28, 1340, when Abu Hamer, son of Abu-'l-Hassan,[8] Sultan of Belmarye, was captured, and some 200,000 Moors were slain and taken prisoners,[9] the most important military operation in Granada was the siege of Algeciras by the Spaniards and representatives of other

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[1] *Bibl.* 1 (1844). 502-4; Le Roulx 44 (1886). 125-8; Machaut 2190-3661 (pp. 67-111).

[2] *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy,* ed. Nicolas, 2. 323. For two other possible names, see Stubbs, p. 194.

[3] Machaut, vv. 2828-33 (p. 86).

[4] Le Roulx, p. 127; Machaut, vv. 2426 ff. (p. 74).

[5] *Bibl.,* p. 503. For the results, see *Bibl.,* pp. 503 ff.; Le Roulx, pp. 129 ff. For Petrarch's lament over the eventual failure, see Stubbs, p. 195.

[6] The final *-s* not pronounced.

[7] *Encyc. Brit.,* 11th ed., 1. 642; 18. 858.

[8] The 'Albohacen' of the *Cronica.*

[9] Schirrmacher, *Gesch. von Spanien* 5. 213; Murimuth, pp. 263 ff.; Jean le Bel 1. 213 ff.; Ibn-Khaldoun, in *Jour. Asiat.* 9. 12 (1898). 415 (cf. his *Hist. des Berbères,* tr. Slane, 4. 229-30).

nations, under the command of Alfonso. The Moors of Africa, bent on revenge for the defeat at Salado, by which they had been stricken sore, had fitted out a fleet, which had been destroyed and put to flight by the Genoese admiral, Egidio di Boccanegra (brother of the first doge of Genoa, Simone), commanding 70 galleys, of which 12 were Genoese.[1] The overthrow of the fleet rendered it possible for Alfonso to begin the siege of Algeciras, which was accordingly undertaken on Aug. 3, 1342, with a combined investment by sea and land. The Moorish garrison numbered 30,000 men, of whom 12,000 were archers. The neighboring territory abounded in tillable land and pasture, well irrigated and provided with drinking-water; mills were at hand to provide flour, and orchards and vineyards were scattered through the environs.[2] Alfonso's fleet proceeded to blockade the harbor, while his army took up a position southeast of the city. Drawing near to the Old Town, the troops dug a trench from the little river Miel to the seashore, behind which they erected a stockade and cast up entrenchments. By early October Alfonso began to make applications for aid to foreign powers, especially to France and the Pope. About this time heavy rains, continuing for a month, flooded Alfonso's camp, carrying away tents and huts, and causing much sickness, to say nothing of discomfort and the destruction of food. Whole nights long the king was obliged to stand in the water, so drenched was his bed.[3] What with all this, and the nocturnal sallies of the Moors, the army was forced to construct shelters on higher and more distant points. It was not until March of the next year, 1343, that a close and complete investment was effected. Ballistas were set up, to match the artillery in the city; and in the handling of these the Genoese showed themselves peculiarly expert. As early as February, Abu-'l-Hajjáj, King of Granada, sent an embassy, as he did more than once afterwards, to treat of peace; but Alfonso declined any overtures, except on condition that he would abandon his ally, the King of Belmarye; on this point, however, Abu-'l-Hajjáj was obdurate. Meanwhile, Abu-'l-Hassan

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[1] Schirrmacher 5. 218-220.

[2] *Cronica*, p. 489: 'Muy buenas aguas dulces, et grandes labranzas de pan, et muchas viñas et huertas, et muchos regadios, et moliendas asaz.'

[3] *Cronica*, p. 506.

would have attempted to relieve the garrison by an invasion from Ceuta, on the African side of the Strait, had it not been for a revolt of his son, Abderrahman, whom he had left behind. To prevent the running of the blockade by vessels laden with provisions, Alfonso caused piles to be driven in the bay, and connected by heavy chains. By May knights from France and Germany began to arrive, and in June Gaston de Foix and his brother, the viscount of Châtillon. In August the Pope sent Alfonso a much needed loan of 20,000 florins, while the King of France, Philip VI, gave him 50,000 florins outright—an aid which was perhaps responsible, by alienating Edward III,[1] for the early recall of Derby and Salisbury. Between October and the middle of December, 1343, three unsuccessful attempts were made to relieve the Moorish garrison, whose position was becoming untenable. Rain fell in torrents through the month of February. On March 21, 1344, an envoy from the King of Granada appeared, with conditions of peace: the whole population of Algeciras was to be allowed to depart with their goods; a truce for a certain number of years was to be concluded between Alfonso and the two Moorish kings; and Abu-'l-Hajjáj was to pay Alfonso a yearly tribute of 12,000 *doblas* as his vassal. The terms were accepted; on March 26 the Moors evacuated the New Town, and on the 27th the Old. Thus ended a Mohammedan occupation of 633 years, after a siege lasting from Aug. 3, 1342, to March 26, 1344—nearly twenty months.[2] In 1368 'the Granadines recovered Algeciras, which was utterly destroyed a decade later, that it might no longer tempt the Spaniards.'[3]

The following account of the siege is by the Arab historian, Ibn-Khaldoun, who lived from 1332 to 1406 (*op. cit.* 4. 234-6):

> The Christian king [Alfonso XI], having returned to his own country after the battle of Tarifa [= Salado, 1340], again attacked the Mussulmans of Andalusia, hoping to conquer them without difficulty. . . . In the [Mohammedan] year 742 [A. D. 1341-2], Alcala [la Real] succumbed. . . . As to the sultan Abu-'l-Hassan, he landed at Ceuta, in order to make ready a new expedition, and thus to take his revenge. While his agents traversed the cities

[1] Schirrmacher 5. 231; but this is hardly likely, in view of p. 222, note 3.
[2] *Cronica;* Schirrmacher 5. 216-236.
[3] Meakin, p. 106. Ibn Khaldoun (*Hist. des Berbères*, tr. Slane, 4. 381) says that it was destroyed between 1378 and 1388.

of Maghrib [modern Morocco and Algeria] to levy troops, his caids visited the seaports, and urged on the armament of a new fleet. In a short time a considerable number of ships were equipped, and the sultan returned to Ceuta [probably from Fez] for the purpose of inspecting them, and of sending over his army into Spain. . . . The Christian king learned of these preparations, and sent his fleet to the Strait [of Gibraltar], to engage that of the Mussulmans. In this encounter, God again submitted the true believers to a severe test: many of them suffered martyrdom, and the Christians remained masters of the sea. Then the king left Seville at the head of an immense army, and marched to Algeciras, in the hope of making it suffer the same fate as Tarifa, and of incorporating it into his dominions. Aided by a throng of engineers and workmen, he besieged this seaport—this place of embarkation for the Mussulman ships—and kept it blockaded so long that his army ended by building wooden houses for themselves. Abu-'l-Hajjáj, Sultan of Granada,[1] placed himself before Gibraltar with the Andalusian army, in order to cover this important place. Abu-'l-Hassan remained in Ceuta, and from there shipped money, grain, and knights into Spain under cover of darkness, whenever he could elude the vigilance of the hostile fleet. His efforts were of no avail; the city, closely pressed, and a prey to famine, was obliged to yield. Then Abu-'l-Hajjáj sought to obtain peace by dispatching an agent, provided with a safe-conduct from the [Christian] king, and commissioned to find the sultan, and to broach this matter to him; but his vessel was treacherously attacked by several Christian ships which the king had sent to intercept him.[2] It was only after having sustained a severe combat and experienced mortal anguish, that the Mussulmans succeeded in regaining the shore. The Merinide troops shut up in Algeciras were at length reduced to such extremities that they offered to evacuate the place by an honorable capitulation. The king accepted the conditions, fulfilled them loyally, and sent back the garrison to Maghrib. Algeciras surrendered in 743 [1342-3]. The sultan received these warriors with a kindness which made them forget the evils they had suffered, and distributed to them so many robes of honor, saddle-horses, and rewards of money that every one marveled; but he cast into prison the vizier, Asker-Ibn-Tahadrit [the general-in-chief], in order to punish him for not having repulsed the enemy, which would have been entirely possible for him with the troops under his command.

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[1] His name is several times repeated on the walls of the Alhambra (*Jour. Asiat.* 9. 12. 437, note 93).

[2] The *Cronica* (pp. 595-7) will not allow that Alfonso was to blame, but imputes the treachery to a Genoese, Valentin de Lorox, at the instigation of the Genoese admiral; cf. Schirrmacher 5. 235.

Henry of Lancaster.

(From the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk.)

> Having returned to his capital, Abu-'l-Hassan remained profoundly convinced that the cause of God would end by triumphing, and that the All-Powerful would fulfil his promise by granting to the Mussulmans a return of good fortune, and to religion a speedy victory, for 'God will complete the manifestation of his light, in spite of the unbelievers.'[1]

The two Englishmen who were conspicuous at the siege of Algeciras were Henry, afterwards Earl and Duke of Lancaster, but then Earl of Derby, and William Montagu, first Earl of Salisbury (1301–1344), after whom Salisbury Crags, at Edinburgh, were named. Salisbury was 42 years of age, and Derby about two years older. Salisbury was to die in the following year, while Derby lived till 1361.[2] Though Salisbury had distinguished himself in various ways (he was made earl in 1337), he never gained the renown of Derby, whom Petrarch (not earlier than 1364, according to Biagi) celebrated, along with Arthur, Godfrey, etc., in the lines (*Trionfo della Fama* 2.152-3):

> Poi il duca di Lancastro, che pur dianzi
> Era al regno de' Franchi aspro vicino.[3]

According to the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (26. 102): 'In the spring of 1343 he [Henry] was sent on embassies to Clement VI at Avignon, and to Alfonso XI of Castile.' Of this I find no direct evidence, but on March 31 there is a writ with respect to 'Thomas Cok [Cook] going to Spain, there to stay in the company of the king's kinsman, Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby,' and on May 2 one regarding 'William de Cusancia, staying beyond the seas in the company,' etc.[4] On July 6 the

[1] *Koran,* surat 66, verse 8.

[2] See above, pp. 176-7.

[3] He is thus characterized by the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (26. 105): 'Henry of Lancaster was esteemed throughout Western Europe as a perfect knight; he was brave, courteous, charitable, just, and at once magnificent and personally temperate in his habits. He had a thorough knowledge of public affairs, was a wise counsellor, and was loved and trusted by Edward III beyond any other of his lords. Like his father, Earl Henry, he was religious, and during his last days is said to have been much given to prayer and good works.' His portrait from the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings (d. 1347), at Elsing, Norfolk, is reproduced opposite, from Hewitt, *Ancient Armour* 2. 195.

[4] Both in *Cal. Pat. Rolls.*

king sends the Earls of Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and others, to treat of certain matters with Pope Clement VI at Avignon.[1]

The English documents next in time would make it appear that Henry was not starting from England till September, but, like that of July 6 mentioned above, they must be understood as missives dispatched to travelers already residing in foreign countries. The first is of Aug. 29, and empowers Henry and eleven others to treat with the ambassadors of France in the presence of the Pope. The second, of Aug. 30, is a credence for Derby and Salisbury, addressed to Alfonso. The third, of Sept. 2, empowers the two earls to treat with Alfonso.[2]

On Nov. 24 Edward III informs the Pope that he will send Derby and Warwick as ambassadors, with reference to the prolongation of the truce concluded with France in February.[3]

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[1] Rymer. Kervyn (23. 459) tells of his being sent by Edward III on July 6 as ambassador to the Pope, and relates that, having reached France, he learned that a crusade against the Moors was in progress, and so passed over into Spain. In view of the above documents (cf. p. 223, note 7), however, the latter part of this statement looks mythical.

[2] All in Rymer. The shocking story told by Jean le Bel (2. 30-34; cf. *Chronique Normande*, pp. 54, 59; *Chronographia Regum Francorum*, pp. 197, 204-5; *Istore et Croniques de Flandres* 2. 6, 9), as to the reason for Salisbury's departure from England, is discredited by Froissart and his editor (Kervyn 4. 273, 458-461; cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 17. 56). Jean le Bel is certainly inaccurate in saying that Salisbury perished at the siege, since he died in England on Jan. 30, 1344.

[3] Rymer. On March 24, 1344, Edward grants power to Derby and Arundel to treat with Alfonso. On May 30 Edward congratulates Alfonso on the conquest of Algeciras, as he had done June 12, 1341, on the victory at Salado (see above, p. 217). In a letter to Alfonso, dated Aug. 12, 1344, Edward III speaks of the desire he had cherished to take part himself in the siege of Algeciras, and to visit Compostella, and touches upon Derby's plan of rejoining Alfonso's forces, on which account the king had communicated to Derby his thoughts concerning the resumption of a project for the union of Alfonso's eldest son (Peter the Cruel, then 11 years of age) with Edward's eldest daughter (Isabella, aged 12); Derby, however, had abandoned his plan on hearing of the surrender of Algeciras. On Sept. 10 of the same year, Edward, in accrediting certain commissioners to Alfonso, refers to Derby's having, when lately in Spain, broached the idea of such a union with one of Edward's daughters, and relates that Derby and the Earl of Arundel, being bound for Spain [spring of 1344?], the king had bestowed upon them authority to treat concerning the matter, but that the capture of Algeciras had had the effect above described.

For the sojourn of the two earls in Spain, we are almost wholly dependent upon the *Cronica,* the relevant parts of which are here presented in a somewhat condensed translation:

I[1]

And the Earls of Derby[2] and Salisbury, men of prominence in the realm of England, came to the war against the Moors, like many others from foreign countries, for the salvation of their souls, and to see and know the king. . . . And these earls, being at Villa Real, heard how the Moors were to fight with the King of Castile on a certain day. Accordingly, they both traveled as fast as their palfreys could carry them, and arrived at Seville in a very few days, though all who started with them failed on the way, and were unable to complete the journey, save four knights only. And when they arrived at Seville, they were at the house that the company of the Bardi kept there, and sought how they might reach the camp with additional knights, if possible; if not, then at least they themselves. . . . When they arrived, they learned that the King of Granada and the Moors were near the Guadiaro river,[3] and that there was no fixed day for the battle. And on this account they awaited their troops there, in the meanwhile sending their men to headquarters to announce their coming to the king, and to have houses constructed against their arrival. When the troops arrived, they all left Seville for the royal camp. Here the king welcomed them, and was much pleased with them; for they were valiant knights, bringing with them brave companies, and had been at many hotly contested battles. In blood the Earl of Derby stood the higher, being of royal lineage[4]; but the Earl of Salisbury had taken part in many battles, in one of which he had lost an eye.

II[5]

And the king [Alfonso] went out to receive them [Gaston de Foix and his brother],[6] and paid them much honor, and commanded that dwellings be assigned them apart from the other camps, and near where the Earls of Derby and Salisbury were dwelling[7]; for one reason, so that they might be further removed from the city, and, for another, that they might be free from annoyance by the Castilian troops.

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[1] *Cronica,* pp. 541-2.

[2] Always written 'Arbi.'

[3] Alfonso received word of this on May 3 (*Cronica,* p. 539).

[4] He was great-grandson of Henry III, as Edward III was.

[5] *Cronica,* p. 544.

[6] See above, p. 219.

[7] This was the end of June, so that the two earls must have arrived before that date, and after May 3 (see above, p. 222, note 1).

III[1]

In order to the construction of this fort [a third fort for the siege of Algeciras], a large number of soldiers kept guard over those who were at work. And the Moors in the city, being much disturbed over the building of the fort, would sally out to engage the Christians, in order to make an end of it. During these conflicts many, both Christians and Moors, were wounded and slain. It happened that one day, when the Moors issued forth to fight with the Christians, the Earls of Derby and Salisbury armed themselves and all their companies, and took part in the conflict. At that moment the Castilian knights who were on guard had vanquished the Moors, and driven them into the city; but the earls and their companions made their way to the city-gates on the side of the army, where the encounter had taken place, and advanced so far that they thrust with their lances at the Moors who were in the trench and behind their walls. Then all the Moors in the city ran thither and sallied forth, and there was a great battle with them. The Earl of Derby was wounded in the face with an arrow,[2] and two of his knights were slain, but the Moors were forced back into the city.

IV[3]

And he [Philip III, King of Navarre[4]] arrived at headquarters in the month of July. . . . They of France and Gascony joined

[1] *Cronica,* p. 546.

[2] Cf. the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (*Bibl. de Autores Españoles* 57. 545-6), stanzas 2274, 2279-81:

Un buen conde fue armado,
De Moros grand enemigo,
Arbit era su condado,
Deste conde que bos digo. . . .
Bien lidiaron los paganos,
Bien ferian a rreueses,
Los Castellanos llegaron
Por bandear los Ingleses.
E los Moros encerraron
Con su alcayde fardido,
E los Ingleses tornaron
Con el conde, mal ferido.
Dieronle tres saetadas
Los ballesteros clareses,
Fueronse a sus posadas
Con el conde los Ingleses.

[3] *Cronica,* p. 550.

[4] He fell ill, left the camp in September, and went to Jerez de la Frontera (source of sherry) where he soon died (*Cronica,* pp. 587-8;

[in encamping] the King of Navarre and the Count of Foix, and they of England and Germany the Earls of Derby and Salisbury, because of the long and great war between the King of France and the King of England, in which the Germans assisted the English king.

V[1]

One day at the beginning of August, there entered companies of foot-soldiers from outside the kingdom into the barrier that the Christians had made, and began to fight with the Moors of the city between the villas. Which when the king had seen, he realized that if they were not succored they were in peril of death, for the Moors were numerous, and more were pressing out of the city. Accordingly, he ordered some of his troops to arm themselves and enter the mellay, in order to rescue these men. And those to whom the king gave commandment went thither, but could not effect the rescue, for the Moors fought them as they had done the others. Then the Earls of Derby and Salisbury, with other Englishmen and Germans, being at hand, armed themselves, and eagerly took part in the fray; upon which the Moors of the city, horse and foot, issued forth to the field, and the combat between them was fierce. Now the Christians who engaged did not stand firm with the earls, but abandoned them, like men who had entered inconsiderately into the battle. The king, seing this, commanded that all those within the barrier should arm, and reinforce the Christians; and this they did. After they had come together from each side, the Moors fled into the city, while the Christians continued to fall upon them until they had pursued them inside, and slain many of them in the trench. In this way many of the Moors were killed and wounded; and they fled in such haste, and in such great disorder, that two Christian Englishmen were carried along with them into the city.[2] Thereupon, certain Moors who saw them supposed that they were more in number, and were much afraid that they had lost the city. But when they discovered that there were only two, they tried hard to capture them, and placed guards at the city-gates. And the Christians who took part in the combat stayed near the city, and laid waste the fine gardens which the Moors had between the two villas, and which they maintained in great estate. But the king commanded them to

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Kervyn 22. 267). His own physician had insisted on wine and a liberal diet, while those of Alfonso were in favor of keeping him low; and it was the former that he followed.

[1] *Cronica,* pp. 551-2.

[2] Cf. Jean le Bel 1. 49: 'Les crestiens perdoient plus souvent que les Sarrasins aux paletis et aultres armes, car ilz s'abandonnoient trop à la folie pour avancer leur honneur envers les grands seigneurs et les barons qui là estoient venus de tous pays comme pelerins.'

leave the barrier, because many arrows were shot at them from both the villas, wounding numbers of men and horses; and this they did.

VI[1]

In this month of July, the King of Granada sent as messengers to the King of Castile those whom he had sent on a former occasion. . . . And when these envoys reached the palace, there were with the king the King of Navarre and the barons of his realm, the Earls of Derby and Salisbury, the Count of Foix, etc.[2]

VII[3]

And because the fleet of the King of Morocco was in the port of Ceuta awaiting the King of Granada's fleet, the King of Castile sent his admiral, Don Egidio, with fifteen galleys, to the port of Ceuta; and with him in these galleys were the Earls of Derby and Salisbury, and all their companies. . . . [No battle was fought.] And the next day they were at the port of Algeciras, where was the King of Castile with his army.

VIII[4]

The Earls of Derby and Salisbury came[5] to speak with the king, and told him that the King of England, their lord, had sent them

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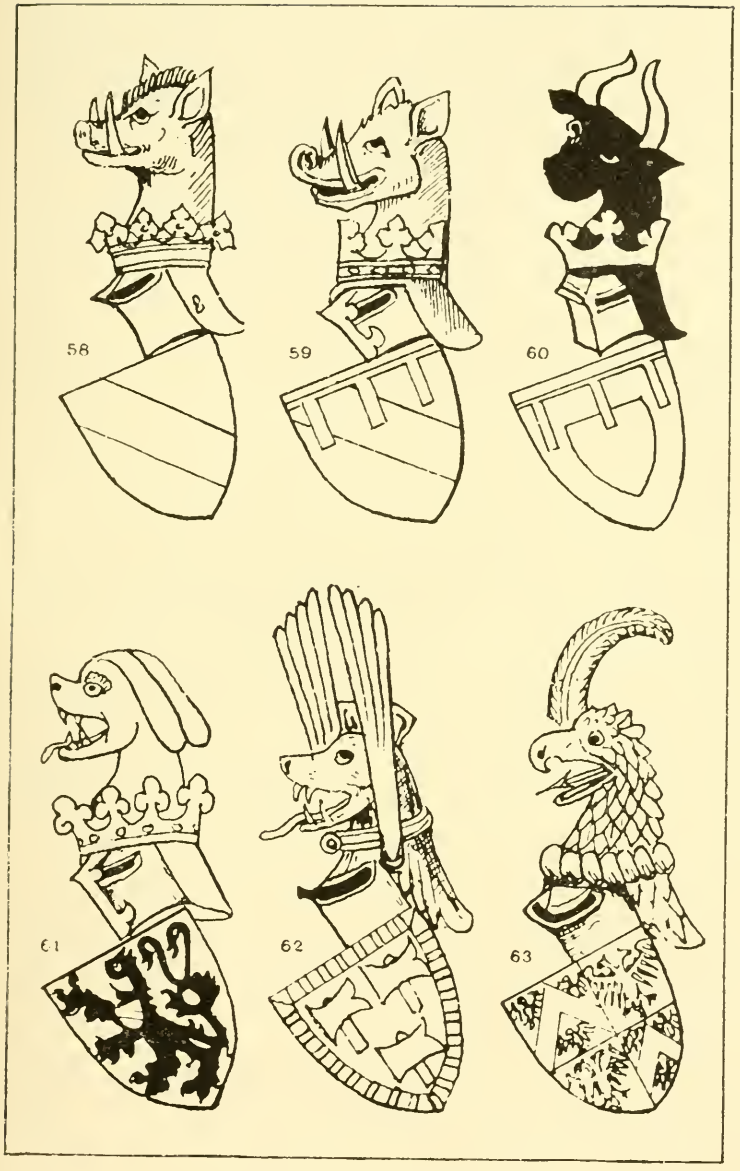
[1] *Cronica,* p. 555.

[2] These envoys had a novel experience while they were being conducted through the encampment (*Cronica,* p. 556): 'At length they came to the quarters occupied by the earls and the other foreigners. Each of these had his helmet placed on a stout and high pole at the door of his house, and all bore figures of various kinds. One represented a lion, another a fox, a wolf, an ass's head, an ox, a dog, or other animal. Some had a man's head, with face, and hair, and beard. These figures were all so well made that they seemed alive. Again, others had the wings of eagles or ravens. In all there were not fewer than six hundred such helmets. And the Moors, seeing them, marveled greatly at the host of people which the King had there.' Cf. Schirrmacher 5. 230, and see the accompanying plate, taken from the armorial of Guelders Herald, as reproduced in Kervyn 23. 465 ff. The arms are those of the following persons: 58, Jean de Roye; 59, Renaud de Roye; 60, the Sire de St. Venant; 61, the Sire de Sempy (or St. Py); 62, the Sire de Sombernon; 63, the Sire de la Trémoille. Of these, Renaud de Roye and the Sire de Sempy were two of the three challengers at St. Inglevert (cf. above, p. 207), Boucicaut (*ib.*) being the other. Renaud was the organizer of the jousts.

[3] *Cronica,* pp. 567-8.

[4] *Cronica,* pp. 568-9.

[5] Perhaps late in August; cf. Schirrmacher 5. 231.



Arms of French Knights

to say that the King of France and he had established a truce and peace between themselves for three years,[1] and that, with reference to certain matters that they had to settle, power had been given from the King of England to the Earl of Derby. Hence it was necessary that he should be at the Court of Rome by a certain day, and that God knew it grieved them much to depart at this time, for their desire was to remain with the king until the Moors came to battle, or till the king was able to recover the city of Algeciras. And when the king had listened to them, he thanked them heartily for their words, and for the service they had performed, adding that they were at liberty to depart when they pleased. And so they took their leave,[2] great friends of the king.[3]

Belmarye. Froissart's *Bellemarine, Belmarin, Bellemari.* Rather the name of a tribe, the Bene-Marīn, than a territory. This tribe flourished between 1213 and 1524, so that this period has been called the Marīni, or Merinide period, succeeding to that of the Almohades. Having already possessed Eastern Morocco, or the kingdom of Fez, they annexed Western Morocco, or the kingdom of Marrákesh, by 1258. They conquered Tlemçen in 1337, under Ali V, or Abu-'l-Hassan (reigned 1331-1351), and occupied it till 1359, when it reverted to the Beni Zeeyán, from whom it had been wrested, and remained in their possession till 1553.[4]

Of Yakub II (reigned 1258-1286) it is said that he had much friendly intercourse with Europe.[5]

Abd-el-Aziz I (reigned 1366-1372) 'entertained relations with Edward the Black Prince, who then ruled at Bordeaux'[6] (hence

[1] But this had been done on Jan. 19 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 17. 57).

[2] Derby is said to have returned to England about Nov. 1 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 26. 102).

[3] Cf. *Cronica,* p. 571: 'And when the Moors came to Gibraltar (September ?), the Earl of Derby had been gone for some days, and the Earl of Salisbury had remained ill at Seville.'

[4] Meakin; *Encyc. Brit.,* 11th ed., 18. 856.

[5] Meakin, p. 94. He adds: 'On one occasion the river at Salli was so full of foreign ships that there were said to be more strange sailors there than resident natives, so during Ramadán the foreigners seized the town, entering by a breach in the wall, though after fourteen days the Moors retook it.' He also tells of a descent made by foreigners on Laraïche (a seaport on the Atlantic) in 1270 (*ib.*, note). The wife of Ali V seems to have been a Christian. She died in 1349-50, and a beautiful tribute to her memory is printed by Meakin (pp. 104-5).

[6] Meakin, pp. 105-6.

between 1366 and 1370?); possibly it is from this intercourse that Chaucer's notions of Morocco may have proceeded.

Chaucer's Belmarye is, then, Morocco. Palamon is compared to a lion of that country (*K. T.* 2630-33):

> Ne in Belmarye ther nis so fel leoun,
> That hunted is, or for his hunger wood,
> Ne of his praye desireth so the blood,
> As Palamon to sleen his fo Arcite.

Lyeys, early October, 1367. Froissart's[1] and Marco Polo's[2] *Layas,* Ariosto's[3] *Laiazzo,* also known as *Ayas, Ayacio, Aiazzo, Giazza, Glaza, la Jazza,*[4] *l'Ajasso, la Giazza,*[5] *l'Aïas,*[6] is perhaps most properly called *Ayas,* a name derived from Lat. *Ægæ,* Gr. Αἰγαί.[7] It lies in the vicinity of Issus, famous for the battle between Alexander and Darius. Ayas is on the bay of the same name (*Cent. Atlas,* map 101, F 4), opening out of the western part of the Gulf of Alexandretta, or Scanderoon, in the mediæval kingdom of Lesser Armenia. In the latter part of the 13th century it became one of the chief places for the shipment of Asiatic wares arriving through Tabriz.[8] As Marco Polo says[9]: 'All the spicery [spices, drugs, dye-stuffs, metals, wax, cotton, etc.[10]], and the cloths of silk and gold, and the other valuable wares that come from the interior, are brought to that city. And the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and other countries, come thither to sell their goods, and to buy what they lack. And whatsoever persons would travel to the interior (of the East), merchants and others, they take their way by this city.'[11] Conquered from the Christians by the Arabs of Egypt in 1322, but

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[1] Kervyn 20. 567.
[2] *Prol.,* chap. 8.
[3] *Orl. Fur.* 19. 54. 1 (cf. 20. 58).
[4] Marco Polo 1. 16.
[5] *Bibl.,* p. 310.
[6] Le Roulx, p. 23.
[7] Pape, *Wört. der Gr. Eigennamen* 1. 28.
[8] Marco Polo 1. 16; cf. Le Roulx, p. 67.
[9] Bk. 1, chap. 1.
[10] 1. 45.
[11] Cf. *Bibl.,* pp. 310, 311, 315, 319, 323; Marco Polo, p. 41; cf. Heyd 1. 404, 598-9; 2. 79-81, 85-6, 88-94.

rebuilt after 1323, it was recaptured by the Egyptians in 1347.[1] After Pierre I of Lusignan, King of Cyprus (reigned 1359-1369), had captured Satalia on Aug. 24, 1361, the Emir of Ayas hastened to make his submission to him.[2] About the beginning of October, 1367, Pierre appeared before Ayas, where he had expected to meet Hayton, the King of Lesser Armenia. His mission was to capture Ayas from the Saracens, but, though he expelled them from the city, he was unable to gain the castle, and so returned to Cyprus.[3] On this expedition, the Earl of Hereford (see pages 182, 233) was with him.[4]

Satalye, August 24, 1361; between June and September, 1367. Also known as *Adalia* (*Antalia*), the ancient *Attalia,* Gr. Ἀτταλεία. It lies between capes Khelidonia (Chelidona) and Anémour (Anamour), on the southern coast of Asia Minor, (*Cent. Atlas,* map 101, D 4), and has about 25,000 inhabitants. It is the capital of the sanjak of Tekké-ili. Beaufort, writing in 1817, thus describes it[5]:

> Adalia is beautifully situated round a small harbour[6]; the streets appear to rise behind each other like the seats of a theatre; and on the level summit of the hill, the city is enclosed by a ditch, a double wall, and a series of square towers about fifty yards asunder.[7] . . . The port is inclosed by two stone piers, which once had towers on the extremities; but they are now in a ruinous state. . . .
>
> The gardens round the town are beautiful; the trees were loaded with fruit[8]; all kinds of vegetation seemed to be exuberant; and the inhabitants spoke of their corn grounds as more than commonly productive. The soil is deep, and everywhere intersected by streams

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[1] Heyd 2. 93-4; cf. *Bibl.,* p. 318.

[2] Le Roulx, p. 119 (cf. p. 118); *Bibl.,* p. 495 (cf. pp. 490, 491).

[3] Le Roulx, p. 139; *Bibl.,* p. 517; Machaut 6964 ff. At length, in 1375, Ayas lost whatever independence it had possessed (Heyd 2. 94).

For maps of Ayas, see Marco Polo, opp. p. 44; for pictures, see Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie,* pp. 230-2; Beaufort, p. 240; Marco Polo 1. 16; Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure,* p. 132.

[4] Machaut, p. 229.

[5] Pp. 126-130.

[6] Cf. Hastings, *Bible Dict.* 1. 208.

[7] See the more particular description in *Bibl.* 1. 493.

[8] Orange, lemon, fig, and mulberry trees, besides vineyards (*Bibl.,* p. 492; Larousse, *Encyc.*).

loaded with calcareous matter, which, after fertilizing the plain, fall over the cliffs, or turn the corn-mills in their descent to the sea.

Alternate breezes refresh the air in a remarkable manner[1]; for the daily sea-breeze sweeps up the western side of the gulf with accumulated strength; and at night, the great northern valley which appears to traverse the chain of Mount Taurus, conducts the land wind from the cold mountains of the interior. Upon the whole, it would be difficult to select a more charming spot for a city.[2]

In the Middle Ages, Satalia was the most important place on the southern coast of Asia Minor, having regard to its strength and commerce,[3] though it did not equal Ayas.[4] It lay in the empire of Iconium, Roum, or Turkey, whose sultan, with his capital at Konieh (Coyne), was the richest monarch in pagandom, according to Joinville[5]; and Iconium formed the eastern part of Asia Minor, as Romania, belonging to the Greeks of Constantinople, formed the western part, from Mount Olympus to the Taurus.[6]

In August, 1361, Pierre I, King of Cyprus, sailed from Cyprus to Satalia with a fleet of about 119 vessels. Here he arrived on the 23d, and at dawn of the next day advanced with scaling-ladders and arblasts to the assault. Cutting down all who opposed, the army was soon within the walls and in possession of the castle, before the emir, named Tacca,[7] who had remained outside the city in order to fall on the army's rear, was in a position to attack it. Finally he succeeded in entering the city by an underground passage, but seeing the Christian helmets on

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[1] Mas Latrie (*Bibl.*, p. 493) says that the mountains in the vicinity keep off the breezes, so that the heat is excessive and dangerous.

[2] The best modern description is by Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens and Pisidiens* 1. xi, 6-32, 153-163, with maps and pictures. See also the view in Beaufort, opp. p. 126. Roger of Hoveden, at the end of the twelfth century, has a brief description (Bohn tr. 2. 248). Richard I was in the Gulf of Satalia on May 1, 1191 (Stubbs, p. 161).

[3] *Bibl.*, pp. 326, 492; cf. Heyd 1. 335-6, 598-9; 2. 355-6, 543.

[4] Heyd 1. 598.

[5] *Hist. de Saint Louis*, ed. de Wailly, § 141. For the commerce, see *Bibl.*, pp. 304-5, 307, 315, 323, 329. For the harbor, see Pauly-Wissowa, p. 2156. For legends concerning the Gulf of Satalia, see Roger of Hoveden (Rolls Series 3. 157; Bohn tr. 2. 248-9), who derives from Benedict of Peterborough (ed. Stubbs, 2. 195-7); cf. Stubbs, p. 148.

[6] *Bibl.*, p. 302; cf. Roger de Hoveden, Bohn tr. 2. 249-250.

[7] Perhaps from the name of the country that he governed.

the walls, and Christian banners floating from the towers, he regained his main force.[1] A few lines from Machaut paint the situation[2]:

Il s'en ala, lui et sa gent,
Parmi la haute mer nagent,
Tant qu'il vint devant Satalie,
Une cité qu'est en Turquie,
Grande et puissant et ferme et forte.
Mais il n'i ot ne mur ne porte
Ne gens qui la peüst deffendre,
Que li bons rois ne l'alast prendre
Et destruire et mettre à l'espée.
Et si l'a toute arse et bruslée.
La veïst on maint drap de soie
Et de fin or qui reflamboie
Ardoir; et mainte dame belle,
Maint Sarrazin, mainte pucelle,
Maint Turc, et maint enfant périr
Par feu, ou par glaive morir.

In this expedition he was accompanied by an English force, or a force under an English knight, named Robert of Toulouse.[3]

The Saracen troops under Tacca had caused much annoyance to Satalia during the half dozen years following upon its capture by Pierre.[4] On March 26, 1367, Pierre succeeded in suppressing a rebellion which had broken out in the city.[5] Between June and September, 1367, and before proceeding to the capture of Tripoli and Ayas,[6] the king invited Tacca to meet him in Satalia. Here Tacca offered him rich presents, and obtained from him a confirmation of the existing treaty of peace.[7] At this meeting there were present two Englishmen—the Earl of Hereford and Sir William Scrope. Sir Richard Waldegrave testified in 1386[8]:

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[1] *Bibl.*, pp. 493-4; Le Roulx, p. 119; Stubbs, p. 193.

[2] 643-658.

[3] Stubbs, p. 193. As the name sounds suspicious, and as he is desirous to save the honor of the English nation, Stubbs suggests that he was a Continental subject of the Plantagenets.

[4] *Bibl.*, pp. 495-500, 506; Le Roulx, pp. 119-120, 123.

[5] *Chronique de Strambaldi* (ed. Mas Latrie), pp. 79-80; Amadi, pp. 446-7.

[6] See above, p. 230.

[7] *Bibl.*, p. 517; Le Roulx, p. 138; Strambaldi, p. 83.

[8] *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, ed. Nicolas, 2. 377.

> And also beyond the Great Sea he saw Sir William Scrope so armed, with a label, in the company of the Earl of Hereford at Satalia in Turkey, at a treaty which was concluded between the King of Cyprus and 'le Takka,' Lord of Satalia, when the King of Cyprus became Lord of Satalia.

This earl was Humphrey X, Earl of Hereford from 1361 to 1372,[1] the father-in-law of Henry, Earl of Derby. He was also present at Ayas.[2] Sir William Scrope, who, according to Nicolas, almost realized Chaucer's beau ideal of a knight,[3] was probably the same who, according to the testimony of Sir Alexander Goldingham,[4] was with Hereford in Lombardy previous to this.

Grete See. Though Yule[5] thinks the Black Sea is here meant, the term is usually understood of the Mediterranean.[6]

Tramissene. Froissart's *Tramessaines, Tremessaines.*[7] In Arabic it is known as *Talimsán,* and otherwise generally as *Tlemçen.* The kingdom of Tlemçen included a considerable territory in what is now western Algeria, including Oran.[8] The city has some remarkable remains of Moorish architecture.[9] Of the period between 1282 and 1337 we are told (*Encyc. Brit.* 26. 1035): 'Under their sway [that of the Abd-el-Wahid] Tlemçen flourished exceedingly. The presence of Jews and Christians was encouraged, and the Christians possessed a church. The bazaar of the Franks was a large walled enclosure, the gates of which were closed at sunset. As many as 5000 Christians lived peaceably in Tlemçen, and the Sultan included in his army a Christian bodyguard.'

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[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] See above, p. 230.

[3] *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy* 2. 105 (cf. 2. 106).

[4] *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy* 2. 228 (cf. 2. 107); *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 51. 138. For Satalia in relation to Amurath I (1386), see Hammer-Purgstall 1. 200.

[5] Marco Polo 1. 3.

[6] Gower, *Conf. Am.* 3. 2487-90; 4. 1620-37; Mandeville, ed. Halliwell, p. 259; Hertzberg, p. 579.

[7] Still *Tremesin* as late as 1517 (Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII* 1. 277).

[8] See the map in Meakin, opp. p. 80.

[9] See *Encyc. Brit.,* 11th ed., 26. 1034.

Peter the Cruel (ruled 1350-69) of Castile was reported to have formed a treaty of alliance with the kings of Belmarye and Tramissene in 1366, or thereabouts.[1] Such rumors as the following were current:

> And, besides all this, there ran a bruit of him among his own men how that he was amiably allied with the king of Granade and with the king of Bellemarine and the king of Tremesen, who were all God's enemies and infidels: wherefore some of his own men feared that he would do some hurt to his own country, as in violating of God's churches, for he began already to take from them their rents and revenues, and held some of their prelates in prison, and constrained them by tyranny.[2]

After the coronation of Henry of Trastamare in 1366, his army, estimated at 60,000 men, well armed and mounted, announced their intention, after subduing Castile, to invade Granada and Belmarye, thereby causing great fear among the Saracens.[3] Before entering Spain for the support of Henry, the captains of the companies sent a herald with letters to Peter, requesting to be allowed, as pilgrims, to pass through his dominions on their way to Granada and Belmarye, whither they were bound for the destruction of the infidels.[4]

In 1382 it came to the ears of the English serving in Spain with the Earl of Cambridge that the King of Granada was warring against the Kings of Barbary and Tramissene, and that they were welcome to take service with him for the campaign. Several Frenchmen on the ground availed themselves of this offer, but only a few Englishmen, the greater part returning to England with the earl.[5]

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[1] Mérimée, *Hist. de Don Pèdre Ier*, p. 425; Kervyn 7. 264; 17, 459; cf. Ibu-Khaldoun, *Hist. des Berbères* 4. 380.

[2] Kervyn 7. 86. See also the fantastic story told by Cuvelier (*Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin* 14426-35, 14503-6, 14549-51, 14597-622, 15255-6, 15275-421, 15957-80; cf. 9076, 9293, 9568, 9904) about the journey of Peter into Belmarye to secure aid for the relief of Toledo early in 1369.

[3] Kervyn 7. 93.

[4] Kervyn 17. 425.

[5] Kervyn 9. 492. It is interesting to note that, by a charter of Peter's, dated Sept. 23, 1366, he accorded to the English the privilege of being the first to engage the Moors in any battle with the King of Granada (Kervyn 20. 515).

Palatye, 1365, 1390. Also known as *Palatscha, la Palizia,*[1] Turkish *Balat.*[2] It occupies the site of the ancient Miletus, on the left bank of the Meander, not far from its mouth[3] (*Cent. Atlas,* map 101, B 4). It derives its name, 'the palaces,' from the ruins found in the vicinity.[4] As the form *Palatscha* and the derivation show, the word should be stressed *Palátia,*[5] not *Palatía.* Pegolotti calls it *Palattia di Turchia.*[6] It carried on commerce with the Rhodians, the Cypriotes, the Genoese, and the Venetians. Within or near the city there was, in the fourteenth century, a church of St. Nicholas. Its emir was a Seljuk Turk, under whom slaves were dealt in and piracy practised, and who had coins struck with Latin inscriptions, like the *gigliati* (with a lilied cross) minted in Naples, for use in the trade with Italy.[7] At what stage the emirates of Palatia and Mentesche (the ancient Caria) were united is uncertain—evidently as early as 1403,[8] and probably much before. In about September of 1365, when Pierre de Lusignan was preparing to sail for the conquest of Alexandria (see above, p. 216), he received ambassadors from Palatia at Rhodes, and concluded a treaty with the emir, by which the latter agreed to pay tribute for the safeguarding of his cities and castles.[9] In 1390 Bayezid extended his sway over this region,[10] and some time after an embassy was sent from Palatia to Tamerlane, which exhorted him to take the field against Bayezid.[11] After the battle of Angora in 1402, in which Tamerlane conquered Bayezid, he reinstated the emirs whom Bayezid

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[1] *Bibl.,* p. 502.

[2] Heyd 1. 594.

[3] Heyd, *ib.* Mas Latrie (*Bibl.,* pp. 325, 502) says that it lies north of the ruins of Miletus; others that it represents the ancient Myus (Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor,* p. 239; Forbiger, *Handbuch der Alten Geographie* 2. 214; Hertzberg, p. 580).

[4] Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor,* p. 146; Spon and Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie* 1. 211.

[5] Leake, *op. cit.,* p. 240.

[6] *La Pratica della Mercatura* (in Pagnini, *Della Decima,* Vol. 3), pp. 94, 370.

[7] Heyd 1. 594-6.

[8] Heyd 2. 353-4 (cf. 1. 595).

[9] *Bibl.,* p. 502; *Chronique de Strambaldi,* under A. D. 1365.

[10] Heyd 2. 353; Hammer-Purgstall 1. 221; cf. Le Roulx, p. 388.

[11] Heyd, *ib.*

had expelled.[1] He granted an interview to the sons of the Emir of Mentesche, who had fled from fear of Bayezid, and taken refuge at Sinope; but in the meantime their territory had been ravaged by Tamerlane's skirmishers.[2] The emir whom Tamerlane reinstated was Elias Beg, whose father[3] and brother[4] were both named Mohammed. It is not improbable, then, that the emir whom Bayezid expelled in 1390 was Elias Beg,[5] though, since the latter lived till 1425, it may possibly have been his father, Mohammed. Whichever it was, it seems to be the relation between the emir and Bayezid that Chaucer had in mind in the lines of the *Prologue* which follow—in other words, between a Seljuk and an Ottoman Turk; and, since any hostilities must have taken place in 1390, this was early enough for Chaucer to have heard of them.[6] He might also have been informed, through Henry, of the offer made by Boucicaut and his friend, Renaud de Roye,[7] to Amurath I, father of Bayezid, in the spring of 1388, that they would assist him in any wars against the Saracens.[8]

From the historical background which we have attempted to sketch, a few forms stand out with peculiar clearness. These are, almost without exception, personages of high rank, and among them none, perhaps, rivet our attention more than two

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[1] Heyd, *ib.*

[2] Hammer-Purgstall 1. 330-1.

[3] Heyd 2. 354, note 3.

[4] Heyd, *ib.;* Hammer-Purgstall 1. 424.

[5] Heyd 2. 353.

[6] That information of the affairs of the East was current in the higher circles of England at this time, is clear from the letter addressed by Henry IV to Tamerlane in 1402 (or possibly 1403), congratulating him on his victory in that year over Bayezid, whom he calls 'our enemy and yours' (Ellis, *Orig. Letters* 3. 1. 57), and from the treaty concluded between the two sovereigns (Le Roulx 1. 391).

[7] See above, p. 226, note 2.

[8] Le Roulx 1. 163. Cf. the *Livre des Faictes,* Bk. 1, chap. 16: 'Si s'en allerent apres devers luy [to Gallipoli], et il les receut à grand feste, et leur fit tres-bonne chere, et ils luy presenterent leur service, en cas que il feroit guerre à aucuns Sarrasins. Si les en remercia moult Amurat; et demeurerent avec luy environ trois mois: mais pource que il n'avoit pour lors guerre à nul Sarrasin ils prirent congé, et s'en partirent.'

men of royal blood[1]—the elder Earl of Derby, who died as Duke of Lancaster, and his grandson, the younger Earl of Derby, who died as Henry IV. Chaucer's Knight is a typical, in some sense a composite, figure, to which no one contributed more noble traits than did the knight whom Petrarch[2] ranked with the greatest worthies.[3] He was a sexagenarian[4] when Chaucer served as a subaltern in the army of which he himself was a general, but the praise of his earlier achievements was doubtless still fresh in men's mouths. He was one whom the king delighted to honor, and in whom chivalry saw its highest ideals incarnated, so far as human imperfections allow.

If the crusading exploit by which Lancaster is best known was performed in the South,[5] that of his grandson belongs to the far North, from which the latter doubtless brought the reports of the table of honor which supplied Chaucer with an immortal distich. In age, religious devotion, modesty, and variety of achievement, Chaucer's Knight stands nearest to the father of John of Gaunt's beloved Blanche. When Chaucer would utilize the son of Blanche as a more complete model, it is as his dashing and splendid young king in the *Knight's Tale*.[6]

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[1] Lounsbury (1. 93, note) derives an argument from Chaucer's use of the word 'worthy' (*Prol.* 68) in favor of the poet's having had Henry in mind in his portrayal of the Knight's character; and one might analogically use the word 'sovereyn' (*Prol.* 67), which it is well known was Henry's motto (Wylie 4. 115-6), for the same purpose.

[2] See above, p. 221.

[3] On the authority of Capgrave (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 26. 102), he is said 'to have gone while a young man to fight as a crusader in Prussia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Granada, to have been so renowned a captain that he was known as "the father of soldiers," and the noblest youths of France and Spain were anxious to learn war under his banner.'

[4] This agrees with Manly's estimate of the Knight's age (*Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 38 (1907). 104).

[5] An interesting connection between the older and the younger man, of whom one died five years before the other was born, is suggested by the feeling of the lords who heard Henry's sentence pronounced by Richard II, that he might do well to 'faire ung voiage en Grenade et sur les mescroians' (Kervyn 16. 108: Johnes' Froissart, 1839, 2. 666; cf. Kervyn 16. 132: Johnes 2. 674-5).

[6] Earlier scholars have thought of adventurous knights of less exalted rank. Thus Tyrwhitt in 1775 (*Cant. Tales* 4. 190) refers to Sir Matthew

Gourney (cf. Leland, *Itinerary,* ed. L. T. Smith, pp. 159, 297; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 22. 291-2; Cuvelier, *Chronique de Du Guesclin* 2. 597; Kervyn 21. 442); but neither he, nor Sir Hugh Calverley (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 8. 262-3; Kervyn 5. 289-295; 17. 281-4; 20. 493-4; 23. 421; Ormerod, *Hist. Cheshire* 2. 766-8; Cuvelier, *op. cit.* 2. 590), nor any of the Scropes (above, pp. 204, 217, 233; Manly, *op. cit.,* pp. 104, 107), sufficiently fulfils the conditions.

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PREFACE.

The following chapters are a part, only, of a larger work which I have undertaken, a history of the changes in the rural economy of New England in the nineteenth century. In broad outline such a history falls into three periods: (1) The period of self-sufficient economy, which had existed since the settlement of the country, reaching the highest point of its development at the beginning of the nineteenth century; a period in which the characteristic features of rural economy were the absence of any market for farm produce and the consequent dependence of each town and, to a large extent, of each household, even, on its own resources for the satisfaction of its wants. (2) The period of transition to commercial agriculture, under the stimulus afforded by the rise of manufacturing enterprises in inland towns and villages and the consequent demand for food and raw materials on the part of the newly-arisen non-agricultural population; the years included in this period being approximately the two generations from 1810 down to the close of the Civil War. (3) The period of the decadence of New England agriculture, extending from the close of the Civil War to the end of the nineteenth century; a period in which the increasing pressure of Western competition caused the abandonment of large numbers of New England farms and a decline in both the quantity and quality of the rural population. It was thus that the Rural Problem of New England arose. From an appreciation of the importance of the problem have arisen organized efforts looking toward its solution, toward an economic and social rehabilitation of rural life in this region.

The chapters here presented constitute a survey of the rural economy of the three states of southern New England at the close of the first period.

I desire to make acknowledgment of the courtesies extended to me by the librarians of the American Antiquarian Society, the Connecticut Historical Society, and of the Harvard and Yale University libraries. My thanks are due also to various members of the Department of Economics of the Graduate School of Yale University, and also to Professor F. W. Taussig of Harvard University, for encouragement and helpful suggestions.

In a very especial manner I am indebted to the late Professor Guy S. Callender, of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University, who directed my researches in this field. Without his helpful advice, his illuminating criticism and his stimulating companionship this book could not have been written.

PERCY WELLS BIDWELL.

New Haven, January 1, 1916.

INTRODUCTION.

It is the purpose of this essay to analyze the economic conditions of life in inland towns in southern New England a century ago, with a view to showing in what way, and to what extent, these conditions were effective in shaping the peculiar features of home and community life of this region at the time. In other words, it is our aim in the first place to discover what were the most important circumstances which affected the ability of the inhabitants of these towns to produce wealth, that is, to satisfy their wants, to get a living; and in the second place, to show in what ways these people sought to adapt themselves to their circumstances so as to satisfy their wants most easily, to get the best living possible.

The townships into which the area of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut was at this time divided were more than convenient geographical divisions for administrative purposes; they were units of economic and religious as well as of political life. Inside these economic microcosms, these cells of the social organism, there were developed distinctive individual habits and characteristics, and distinctive social customs. The stern austerities of New England character have often caused comment and discussion, as have also the remarkable energy, industry and ingenuity of its people. So also the peculiar unity and cohesion of their social and religious life are well-known and accepted facts. But the interest of most students and writers in these matters has been that of the mere antiquarian. A detached fact, an isolated idea, concerning the life of the early settlers of this region has been picked up and examined with enthusiastic interest and with a certain kind of appreciation, such as a connoisseur of antiques might display when rummaging for old crockery or furniture through the attic of a farmhouse. Rarely has there been an attempt at real economic history; that is, at an explanation, a synthetic reconstruction of the way in which these people got their living. To do this all these scattered, and of themselves interesting facts must be fitted together, must be brought into some orderly relation showing cause and effect; they must be interpreted in the light of the fundamental principles of economic theory. In this essay such an attempt at reconstruction and interpretation will be made.

As a field for a study in economic history no region offers better opportunities than do the three states of southern New England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Here we find an "economic province," a territory of uniform life based upon a uniform physical environment, peopled by a homogeneous race, with common descent, common traditions, and common institutions. This uniformity of conditions gives the student the great advantage of being able to draw general conclusions for the whole region from the evidence presented in typical localities. He has, moveover, the advantage of investigating an approximately static condition in economic life. For at least a generation, there had been practically no change in the manner of life of the inhabitants in most of the towns. In many of the older towns there had been little change in 50 or 100 years. The process of pioneering was finished, practically all of the land which was then considered available had been brought under cultivation; in the current phrase, these states were "fully settled." But a great change was impending; soon the familiar, stereotyped ways of doing things, traditional habits of life and of thought were to suffer modification and in a few generations were to disappear almost entirely. The revolutionary force was to come from the rise of manufactures and the growth of a non-agricultural population in the inland towns. It is peculiarly interesting and instructive to examine the economic and social life of these communities at this critical stage in their history.

The general plan of the essay may be outlined as follows: In the first place an analysis of the occupations of the inhabitants of the inland townships will be undertaken. Not only will the relative importance of each trade, business, and profession be determined, but also the nature of the relations existing between each and the agricultural industry will be considered. In other words, this portion, Chapter I, will be devoted to a study of the extent of the Division of Labor in the inland townships.

The second step, Chapter II, will be to determine how far the inland communities thus described were typical of the whole region of southern New England. A search will be made for industrial and commercial towns and the commercial relations between these and the purely rural towns will be considered.

In Chapters III and IV an attempt will be made to find out how far these rural communities engaged in commerce with the inhabitants of regions outside New England. An investigation will be made of the extent of the demand for foodstuffs in the Southern

states and in the West Indies. To determine how far this market was supplied by farmers in inland towns, an examination of the conditions of internal trade and of the transportation system in southern New England will be necessary.

Thus far we have been employed in describing the economic conditions, in reconstructing the environment in which the inland farmers found themselves. The second part of the essay, Chapters V and VI, will be devoted to describing the state of the agricultural industry as carried on by inland farmers, and the general features of life in the home and in the community. Finally, these facts will be brought into relation with those of the economic situation that we have described in the first four chapters.

CHAPTER I.

The Inland Towns and Their Village Settlements.

The typical inland township in southern New England in 1810 was an area of roughly 40 square miles,[1] containing a population of from 1,000 to 3,000 persons. An examination of the Census of 1810 shows us 385 of such towns, out of a total of 437. Of the remaining 52 towns only three[2] had as many as 10,000 people, 11 had between 5,000 and 10,000 and 38 varied from 3,000 to 5,000. More significant than these figures as showing the predominant importance of the smallest towns is the fact that 67 per cent, or more than two-thirds of the total population, lived in these; one-quarter in towns of from 3,000 to 10 000 people, and only about one-sixteenth of the total number in the largest towns.[3] Within the group of the smallest towns, considerable variations in size were to be found. In newly settled or in unfertile regions, such as Berkshire and Worcester counties in Massachusetts, a large proportion of the towns contained from 500 to 1,500 people. On the other hand, in especially fertile districts, as, for instance, in the Connecticut valley,[4] or where an old town had retained a large grant of land unsubdivided, as, for instance, Farmington and Saybrook,[5] the population ranged between 2,500 and 3,000 or above. On the whole, however, we shall find that all the towns in this group which we have selected as the typical inland towns show characteristics which set

[1] The variations from this norm were considerable, especially in the longer settled regions where the older towns had been often subdivided. Some of the towns, also, had acquired and kept unusually large grants of land. Consequently, towns as small as 20 square miles or as large as 70 are sometimes found. The best source of information as to the area of towns at this time is Pease and Niles, Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Hartford. 1819. We have no similar work at this date for Massachusetts, except for individual towns and counties. E. g. Whitney, Peter. History of the County of Worcester. Worcester (Mass.). 1793.

[2] These were Boston, 33,250; Salem, 12,600; and Providence, 10,000.

[3] For fuller statement of these figures see Appendix A.

[4] There were 16 towns along the Connecticut River from Saybrook to Springfield, only two of which had less than 2,500 people.

[5] Both of these towns contained about 70 square miles and profited besides by their location in the Connecticut Valley.

them off more or less distinctly from the small number of larger towns and so justify the classification.

The Villages.

A part of the inhabitants of the inland towns lived in villages, small groups of houses often surrounding the meeting house on the top of a hill in the center of the town, or lying stretched out along a single broad street, or enclosing an open square at the intersection of two highways; the remainder lived in farm-houses scattered over the area of the town outside the village. It was these village settlements which, as President Dwight so clearly pointed out,[1] distinguished southern New England from the Southern states as well as from the frontier regions of the northern parts of New England and from the new communities in the Western states. Resulting originally from a need of protection from the hostile natives and also from the desire to have dwellings convenient to the place of religious worship, these villages became a traditional part of New England life and served to foster the growth of a communal spirit. They made possible compulsory education of children and in general prevented the degeneration in manners and morals which inevitably follows as a consequence of dispersion of people in a new country.[2]

From the point of view of the economic life of the inhabitants, however, these villages were not significant. In the first place, they were not large enough to include any very great proportion of the entire population, and, besides, the occupations of the village dwellers were essentially the same as those of their fellow-townsmen. As regards the size of these villages, contemporary writers have given us an abundance of information. In 1781 Chastellux referred to Lebanon, Conn., as one of the most considerable towns, *i.e.*, villages, in the country (in the rural inland region.) It had 100 houses which were somewhat scattered.[3] The same writer found 50 houses around

[1] Dwight, Timothy. Travels in New England and New York. 4 vols. London. 1823. I. 300–303.

[2] The importance of the services rendered by the country churches in furnishing a social center can hardly be over-emphasized. A clear statement of the nature of these services is found in Adams, Charles Francis. Three Episodes in Massachusetts History. A Study in Church and Town Government. 2 vols. Boston. 1892. II. 750–751.

[3] Chastellux, François Jean, Marquis de. Travels in North America. 2 vols. London. 1788. I. 455. Another French traveler who passed through this town a few years later found 150–160 houses in the village. See La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Duc de. Travels through the United States of North America. 2 vols. London. 1799. I. 515.

a large square in Litchfield, Conn.; about the same number collected about a meeting-house in Farmington; in Windham, also in this state, some 40 or 50 houses were seen "pretty near each other," forming a square.[1] The same type of village was seen by Professor Silliman in Lenox, Mass. It had 100 houses gathered about three churches, an academy and a courthouse.[2] Killingworth, Conn., furnished an example of what might be called an "extended village." On its broad main street, six rods wide and one and one-half miles long, were 65 houses. In another part of the town there was a village of 109 houses.[3] From a general survey of such figures as are given in Pease and Niles' Gazetteer it seems that in the great majority of towns the villages contained less than 50 houses.[4]

Occupations of the Village-Dwellers.

An examination of the distribution of land ownership in the inland towns shows that the occupations of the dwellers in these minute nuclei of population, the villages, did not differ essentially from those of their neighbors who lived on scattered farms along the country roads. They were all farmers. In describing the type of village found in the Connecticut Valley, President Dwight says: "The town plat is originally distributed into lots containing from two to ten acres. In a convenient spot, on each of these, a house is erected at the bottom of the courtyard (often neatly enclosed); and is furnished universally with a barn, and other convenient outbuildings. . . . . The lot, on which the house stands, universally styled the home lot, is almost of course a meadow, richly cultivated, covered during the pleasant season with verdure, and containing generally a thrifty orchard."[5] Besides these home lots the village dwellers

[1] Chastellux. Op. cit., I. 48, 38, 23.

[2] Silliman, Benjamin. Remarks on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec. New Haven. 1820. p. 39.

[3] See Field, D. D. A Statistical Account of the County of Middlesex in Connecticut. Published by the Connecticut Academy of the Arts and Sciences. Middletown. 1819. pp. 108–109.

[4] Taking 12 towns from various counties in Connecticut, we find the following numbers of houses collected in villages: Litchfield, 84; Harwinton, 15–20; Plymouth, 20; Hampton, 20; Farmington, 100; Newtown, 50–60; Milford, 100; Brooklyn, 20; Sterling, 30; Voluntown, 15; Tolland, 30; East Windsor, 40. Of these towns Litchfield and Farmington were exceptionally large both in area and population, and Milford was situated on the coast, affording its inhabitants opportunity for maritime occupations.

[5] Travels, II. 317. For a more general description of the New England villages see Lambert, John. Travels in Lower Canada and North America. London. 1810. 2 vols. II. 307–308, and Duncan, John M. Travels through the United States and Canada. 2 vols. New York. 1823. I. 94–95.

had outlying fields, which had been apportioned to the heads of the families at the original settlement of the town.[1] On both these tracts they carried on agricultural operations in the same manner and to the same extent as did the farmers outside the village. The only difference between the two types of farmers seems to have been that the village dwellers were at a considerable disadvantage in going back and forth from their houses to their fields.[2]

Ministers, Lawyers and Physicians.

There were, however, of necessity, some persons in the town who had other interests besides agriculture, and these generally lived in the village. In the first place, there were always a few representatives of what we now call the professional class. At least one clergyman, one lawyer and one physician were evidently indispensable to each community. Of these, the minister seems to have been the one whose "calling" was most sharply distinguished from agriculture. President Dwight takes especial pains to deny the generally accepted report that the country ministers worked on their farms, except in the newest settlements.[3] The ministers lived on farms, however, and drew from them a considerable addition to their meager salaries.[4] The accounts of the settlement of new towns tell of the reservation of a certain share of the land for the minister, in clearing which he was assisted by his parishioners.[5] There was

[1] For a description of the method of apportioning land in early New England towns, see Weeden, William B. Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1789. 2 vols. Boston. 1890. I. 53–62 and II. 512–515. Also Maclear, Anne B. Early New England Towns. New York. 1908. pp. 81–101, and Andrews, Charles M. The River Towns of Connecticut. In Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. 7th series, VII–VIII–IX. pp. 32–79.

[2] See Porter, Noah. Historical Discourse Delivered before the Citizens of Farmington (Conn.). Hartford. 1841. Appendix. Note S. p. 83.

[3] Travels, IV. 436. On the other hand, we have occasional references to the activity of ministers as farmers, as in Warville, Brissot de. New Travels in the United States of America. London. 1792. p. 453.

[4] According to MacMaster, History of the People of the United States, 6 vols., New York. 1885–1913, II. 568, the salaries of country ministers at this time varied from £75 to £140. The New England pound being equal to $3.33, this would make them worth from $250 to $550. At a somewhat later date the salaries of ministers in Middlesex County, Conn., varied from $230 to $1000. In addition to the salary a settlement of from £100 to £200, payable either in currency or in kind, was made on the installation of a new pastor. Field, Statistical Account. p. 145.

[5] See Belknap, Jeremy. History of New Hampshire. 3 vols. Boston. 1792. III. 324.

a tendency as land grew more valuable and as the ability of the parishioners to pay a salary, either in currency or in kind, also increased, for the parishes to dispose of their land holdings. But in 1810 much remained,[1] and even now in rural towns the parsonages are often situated on small farms. Although the clergymen were not farmers in the same sense or on the same scale as their parishioners, yet cultivating a kitchen garden and keeping a cow or two and some small stock were occupations which furnished some part of their living and, moreover, were not inconsistent with clerical dignity.

Lawyers and physicians appear regularly in every account of village life of this period. Scarcely any town managed to get along without at least one lawyer and a couple of "doctors."[2] Travelers remarked on the importance of the legal profession in southern New England, especially in Connecticut, and attributed the fact to the litigious spirit of the people.[3] It may be, however, that other more rational causes can be found. As a matter of fact, this profession offered practically the only opportunity for an ambitious young man to bring himself into prominence in the world which lay outside his own community. As a country doctor or minister he might live and die unheard of beyond the circle of a few towns, but with only the smattering of a legal education he might become a justice of the peace, a selectman, and finally be sent to the state legislature. From that vantage-ground his talents, whatever they might be, would have at least a chance to display themselves. An examination of the careers of the men who were most prominent in the politics of southern New England at the beginning of the century shows in fact that a large proportion of them had been country

[1] See Field. Statistical Account, 145–148.

[2] A compilation of the statistics given in Pease and Niles' Gazetteer gives the following result for two typical counties in Connecticut:

	No. of Towns	*Lawyers*	*Physicians*
Windham	13	24	44
Tolland	11	14	27

In four towns in Windham County the lawyers were lacking but in the town of Windham, where the county court was held, there were eight. In this county there were five towns which had each four or more physicians.

[3] See Harriott, Lieut. John. Struggles Through Life. London. 1807. II. 55. Wansey, the English clothier, tells us that the best houses in Connecticut were inhabited by lawyers. Journal of an Excursion to the United States of America. Salisbury (England). 1796. p. 70.

lawyers.[1] While waiting for political preferment, or in the intervals between terms of office, the country lawyer would have had a hard time to make a living if he had relied on his legal work alone. Consequently, he sometimes took up a trade such as that of carpenter or shoemaker,[2] but most often made up the deficiencies in his income by farming.[3]

This partial reliance upon agriculture was equally true of the medical profession. They were, in many cases, men with a smattering of knowledge concerning the effect of certain drugs and herbs on the most common diseases,—primarily farmers, who, as Miss Larned says of the doctors in Canterbury, practiced medicine when they had nothing more important to do.[4] The inventory of the estate of a physician of that region shows to what extent he had combined the two occupations. Besides a stock of drugs, medicines and vials, he had one pair of oxen, 13 cows, 15 head of young cattle, 20 sheep, a number of swine, farming tools, hay, etc. It was probably the fact that much of the medical service of the time was being done by poorly educated men who were farmers as well, which caused so much complaint to be made of the inefficiency of the profession at that time.[5]

The Business Men.

Besides these professional men, there were in the rural villages a small group of men who represented in a way the prototype of what we now call the class of business men. There was the taverner or innkeeper, the country trader, the proprietors of the saw-mills,

[1] Taking a list of 64 prominent men at this time, including governors, United States Senators and state officials and legislators, whose previous occupation can be ascertained, we find that 36 of these had been lawyers, 13 were merchants, 10 had come into prominence during the Revolution, 3 were physicians, and 2 were craftsmen. Examples of men of prominence who were originally lawyers in country towns are furnished by Uriah Tracy, United States Senator from Connecticut, Jonathan Trumbull, the elder, Governor of Connecticut, and Caleb Strong, Governor of Massachusetts.

[2] See Neilsen, Peter. Recollections of a Six Years Residence in the United States of America. Glasgow. 1830. p. 182.

[3] Advertisements in the country newspapers such as that in the Massachusetts Spy, published in the town of Worcester, issue of July 1, 1807, are good evidence on this point. This advertisement recommends a farm of 23 acres which is offered for sale as a suitable purchase for a lawyer.

[4] Larned, Ellen Douglas. History of Windham County, Conn., 2 vols. Worcester (Mass.). 1874–1880. II. 423.

[5] See La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, I. 448, and Neilson, Recollections, pp. 188–189.

the grist-mills, the fulling-mills, the tanneries; the village artisans or mechanics, the blacksmiths, the carpenters and joiners, and the cobblers. In a mere numerical consideration these occupations might seem to have formed an important element in the economic life of the community, but, on closer observation, it becomes evident that these, too, were usually only auxillary occupations, by-industries of agriculture.

The New England tavern served a wide variety of purposes and its proprietor must needs be a man of varied talents. If situated on a stage-coach route it provided the clean beds and the wholesome fare which were so much appreciated by travelers.[1] Far more important were its services to the townsfolk as a common gathering-place. As a social center it rivaled the meeting-house to whose moral atmosphere it presented a decided contrast. Here much of the political business of the town was transacted; the selectmen's meetings and the sessions of the town court were held regularly in its main room; and at times, in winter, when the meeting-house was too cold, the town meetings held an adjourned session there. It was the scene of many village festivities; the singing school and the dancing school, where the liberal tone of the community permitted such frivolity, met there; on muster days the tavern was the headquarters of the train band. On most of these occasions the tavern bar, where strong liquors were dispensed, was liberally patronized. This feature, too, proved a strong attraction for the village topers and ne'er-do-wells.[2] It was this multiplicity of services to the community rather than the patronage of the infrequent travelers which explains the uniform occurrence of taverns in inland towns. They were, of course, most numerous on the post-roads between New York and Boston, but even in the smallest and most isolated towns at least one tavern could usually be found.[3]

[1] Brissot de Warville discusses appreciatively an inn in Spencer, Mass. Travels, I. 124.

[2] See Field, Edward. The Colonial Tavern. Providence. 1897. Also MacMaster, History of the United States. II. 564–565. Adams, C. F. Episodes, II. 783.

[3] Chastellux, Travels, I. 50, while traveling in Connecticut, writes of a law which requires public houses at intervals of every six miles on the great roads. Such a law, however, does not appear in the statutes in force in the three states of southern New England at the end of the eighteenth century. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, the local authorities were invested with power to determine the number of taverns deemed necessary in each town, and to appoint fit persons as keepers. The latter were required to give bonds and pay a license fee. Connecticut Pub-

The tavern-keeper was a versatile individual. "He led the singing in the meeting house on Sunday; ran the ferry if his tavern was situated near a stream; acted as schoolmaster for the children of those who frequented his house; served his fellow men in the legislature, town council, selectmen, and other minor offices; ruled with solemn dignity over the local courts; headed the Train Band on training or squadron days; kept order in the meeting house on Sundays; surveyed the lands assigned to the land-crazy townsmen; . . . and in fact, next to the town clerk, was the most important and learned man in the place."[1] Besides these possible lines of activity, he was often a physician, and usually owned and managed a farm from the produce of which he supplied a part at least of the wants of his patrons.[2]

The Country Store.

The country store was as regularly found in New England towns as the tavern; in some cases the two institutions were combined in the same building, under the same proprietorship. In the typical inland town there were generally not more than two stores and, in many cases, only one.[3] The stock in trade was regularly described in their advertisements as European and West India goods.

lic Statute Laws. I. 640–645. 1808, and Massachusetts Perpetual Laws. pp. 55–63. 1788. License fees were also demanded in Rhode Island, although the regulations were in general less strict in this state. Rhode Island Public Laws. Revision of 1798, pp. 393–394, 580.

[1] See Field, Edward. The Colonial Tavern. pp. 41–42.

[2] Advertisements of farms for sale in the country newspapers clearly demonstrate this fact. See Massachusetts Spy, Jan. 28, June 22, 1807, and National Aegis (Worcester, Mass.), April 25, 1804. Another fact which shows the close relation between this business and the usual occupations of the agricultural population, was the practice of "laying oneself out to give entertainment." In outlying districts where the taverns were either bad or inconveniently situated, or perhaps entirely lacking, a traveler often applied for food and lodging to any "householder of substance," who was not unwilling to accept a moderate sum in return. President Dwight was often accommodated in this way, especially in the northern states of New England. See also Kendall, Edward Augustus. Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States. New York. 1809. 3 vols. II. 147; and Kittredge, George Lyman. The Old Farmer and his Almanack. Boston. 1904. pp. 282–283.

[3] The descriptions of the various towns given by Whitney in his History of Worcester County, Mass., show that the usual number of stores was two in each town. The advertisements in the newspapers published in inland towns such as Leominster, Stockbridge, and Brookfield, Massachusetts, rarely contain notice of more than one country store.

Under the first of these euphonious phrases were included a few pieces of imported dress-goods, crockery, glassware, powder and shot, and bars of iron and steel. The West India goods were salt, molasses, rum and other liquors, indigo, spices and sugar.[1] In regions of active internal trade, where the farm produce could find outlet to a market, as for instance in the towns along the Connecticut River,[2] or in the southern part of Windham County, Conn.,[3] the country traders were numerous and did a brisk business. They bought up dairy products and salted pork and beef as well as household manufactures from the farmers and undertook, on their own responsibility, often, the sale of these products in the Southern states or in the West Indies. In the isolated rural community, however, business must have been extremely dull. Some profit could be made from the exchange of goods among the members of the community; but of goods from the outside the latter were able to purchase very little. Some salt and a few other necessary articles they had to have; the liquors they often bought in preference to the things which they really needed and were often largely in debt to the storekeeper on this account.[4] In order to eke out a living the storekeeper resorted to agriculture, either tilling the land himself or hiring occasional assistance from his neighbors.[5]

[1] An unusually detailed advertisement is that of a Worcester, Mass., merchant who has to sell: West India goods and groceries, viz: Best cognac and Spanish brandy; West India and New England rums; real Holland gin; Madeira wines; flour, molasses; loaf, white and brown sugar; teas, coffee, chocolate, spices, raisins, copperas; alum; rock and fine salt; dried and pickled fish; glazed china tea sets, crockery and glass ware, violins and flutes. He offers to give cash for country produce. National Aegis, November 20, 1804.

[2] A very great difference is observable between the character of the advertisements in newspapers published in the river towns such as Middletown, Hartford, Springfield, Northampton, and Greenfield and those published in the towns mentioned in Note 3, p. 258.

[3] See Windham Herald, 1808. Larned, History of Windham County, II. 426.

[4] Mr. Adams seems to be justified in his opinion that the sale of liquors was a large part of the business of the country store. He says: "In every store in which West India goods were sold, and there were no others, behind the counter stood the casks of Jamaica and New England rum, of gin and brandy. Their contents were sold by the gallon, the bottle or the glass. They were carried away or drunk on the spot." Episodes. II. 790.

[5] As witness the advertisements in country newspapers. Such an advertisement is that found in the National Aegis of a farm of 90 acres in the town of Paxon, Worcester County, Mass., on which is a combined store and tavern. April 25, 1804.

Village Industries.

Every town had its complement of grist-mills, saw-mills and fulling-mills; usually there were three or four of the grist and saw-mills and one or two fulling-mills.[1] The grist-mills ground the farmer's corn and rye; the saw-mill prepared the lumber for building purposes; the fulling-mill, or clothier's works, as it was sometimes called, contained simple machinery for shrinking and dressing the cloth which had been spun and woven in the farm-houses.[2] Combined with the fulling-mill was often a carding machine which performed by water power the laborious operations of preparing the wool for spinning. These machines had only recently been introduced,[3] but had spread so rapidly that by 1810 they were found in almost every town. The business carried on by these mills was often interrupted in summer by the failure of the streams on which they depended for their water power; at other times it was small in amount, being limited almost without exception to the needs of the community.[4] The number of mills in a community is by no means an indication of an equal number of proprietors receiving their entire income from this sort of industrial activity. Often various sorts of mills were carried on under one ownership, and besides the proprietors of these various enterprises were regularly farmers as well.[5]

[1] Exceptionally large towns such as Litchfield, in Connecticut, had a much larger number of these mills.

[2] The business of a fulling-mill in Cheshire County, N. H., is described in detail in Gallatin's Report on Manufactures, American State Papers, Finance, II. 435. Its labor force consisted of two men and four apprentices, working four months in the year. The total amount of cloth dressed was 6,700 yards per annum. Such mills were often erroneously designated as woolen factories in early descriptions of manufactures.

[3] About 1800.

[4] An exception is found in the case of towns within reach of a market, as for example the coast towns of Fairfield County, Conn., in which considerable milling of flour was done.

[5] An instance is given by Miss Larned in her History of Windham County. In Pomfret, Conn., in 1787, one Captain Cargill owned and operated three sets of grist-mills, a bolting-mill, a blacksmith's shop, a fulling mill, and a churning mill, all on the same water power and under the same roof. Vol. II. p. 266. See also Ibid. II. 240.

An illustration of the combination of several of these enterprises with farming is given in the Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass.), Feb. 20, 1811. A farm of 130 acres is advertised in the town of Savoy, having on the premises a store, potash works, grist-mill, and saw-mill. As if these were not enough to keep the future owner busy, the seller adds that the place is a good site for a tavern.

A tannery or two seem to have been uniformly a part of the economic outfit of the inland town.[1] The working dress of the people was largely composed of leathern garments, not only their shoes and leggings, but shirts, breeches and coats as well. A large part of the material came from the hides of animals slaughtered on the farms and prepared at the village tannery. This was a primitive affair, quite on a par with the mills in the size of its plant and in the scope of its operations.[2] Cider mills and cider and grain distilleries were numerous, but were for the most part owned by farmers and located on their premises.[3]

The manufacture of potash and pearl ash was a by-industry of the farmers in many towns, especially in newly settled regions in Vermont and New Hampshire, and in Worcester and Berkshire counties in Massachusetts. La Rochefoucauld described the process of preparing potash "which is generally observed in the United States," as follows: "Large tubs, with a double bottom, are filled with ashes; the uppermost bottom which contains several holes, is covered with ashes, about ten or eleven inches deep, while the under part of the tub is filled with straw or hay. Water, being poured over the ashes, extracts the particles of salt, and discharges all the heterogeneous matter which it may contain in the layer of hay or straw. The lie is drawn off by means of a cock, and if it should not yet have attained a sufficient degree of strength, poured again over the ashes. The lie is deemed sufficiently strong when an egg swims on it. This lie is afterward boiled in large iron cauldrons, which are constantly filled out of other cauldrons, in which lie is likewise boiling . . . . This salt is of a black colour, and called *black potash.* Some manufacturers leave the potash in this state in the cauldron,

[1] In the state of Connecticut, for instance, according to the Digest of Manufactures prepared by Tench Coxe from the facts collected in the Census of 1810, there were 408 tanneries. An examination of Pease and Ni'es' Gazetteer shows that these establishments were scattered fairly evenly among the 119 towns.

[2] An early tannery in the town of Quincy, Mass., is described by Mr. Adams as follows: "The earlier tanneries were strange primitive establishments. The vats were oblong boxes sunk in the ground close to the edge of the town brook at the point where it crossed the main street. They were without either covers or outlets. The beam-house was an open shed, within which old, worn-out, horses circulated round while the bark was crushed at the rate of half a cord or so a day by alternate wooden and stone wheels, moving in a circular trough fifteen feet in diameter." Episodes, II. 929.

[3] Coxe, Tench. A View of the United States of America. London. 1794. p. 269. The manufacture of cider brandy was an important by-industry of the farmers of Woodbury, Conn. Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, p. 267.

and encrease the fire, by means of which the oil is disengaged from the salt in a thick smoke, and the black potash assumes a grey colour, in which state it is packed up in barrels for sale.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Pearlash is potash purified by calcination. To this end the potash is put into a kiln, constructed in oval form, of Plaster of Paris; the inside of which being made otherwise perfectly close, is horizontally intersected by an iron grate, on which the potash is placed. Under this grate a fire is made, and the heat, reverberated from the arched upper part of the kiln, compleats the calcination, and converts the potash into pearlash; . . . . The process of calcination lasts about an hour."[1]

The apparatus necessary for this manufacture was inexpensive, the largest outlay being for the purchase of the kettles in which the lye was boiled. The products, pearlash and potash, were used to some extent in the household in making soap, in scouring wool, and in bleaching and dyeing cloth. The larger part of the output was sold, partly for use in glass-making and other manufactures, and partly for export.

The Mechanics and Artisans.

We have next to consider the country mechanics or artisans. Here we find that although the division of labor seems to have progressed to a considerable degree in the separation of crafts, yet the connection of each with the fundamental industry, that of tilling the soil, was as close and as rarely completely dissolved as in the case of the professional or business men already described. This imperfect specialization of occupations is described by Tench Coxe as follows: "Those of the tradesmen and manufacturers, who live in the country, generally reside on small lots and farms, from one acre to twenty; and not a few upon farms from twenty to one hundred and fifty acres; which they cultivate at leisure times, with their own hands, their wives, children, servants, and apprentices, and sometimes by hired labourers, or by letting out fields, for a part of the produce, to some neighbour, who has time or farm hands not fully employed. *This union of manufactures and farming*[2] is found to be very convenient on the grain farms; but it is still more

[1] Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, I. 384–386. See also Bishop, J. Leander. History of American Manufactures. 2 vols. Philadelphia. 1861. II. 57.

[2] Author's italics.

convenient on the grazing and grass farms, where parts of almost every day, and a great part of the year, can be spared from the business of the farm, and employed in some mechanical, handycraft, or manufacturing business. These persons often make domestic and farming carriages, implements, and utensils, build houses, tan leather, and manufacture hats, shoes, hosiery, cabinet-work, and other articles of clothing and furniture, to the great convenience and advantage of the neighbourhood. In like manner some of the farmers, at leisure times and proper seasons, manufacture nails, pot-ash, pearl-ash, staves and heading, hoops and handspikes, axe-handles, maple-sugar, &c."[1]

Further testimony on this point is given by Brissot de Warville,[2] who says of the region of Worcester County, Mass.: "Almost all these houses are inhabited by men who are both cultivators and artizans; one is a tanner, another a shoemaker, another sells goods; but all are farmers." If we seek for confirmatory evidence from the size of farms or the amount of land held by these artisans, a serious difficulty arises. They naturally tended to congregate in the small village settlements, where customers would have ready access to them. The gazetteers often speak of the "mechanics' shops" in their descriptions of these villages.[3] These shops were located in or near the dwellings on the "home lots." Consequently, when we find advertisements of such shops for sale with amounts of land varying from one to ten acres,[4] we are not justified in concluding that these men could not be farmers; for, as we have seen, large outlying fields were as a rule held by all village dwellers, and the home lots held by the artizans correspond in extent with those held by men who were purely and simply farmers.

When we consider the numbers of the craftsmen in the various trades both separately and as a body, in proportion to the population of towns in which they worked, our conclusion of their partial dependence on agriculture is still further strengthened. Fortunately we have complete lists of the artisans in two typical rural towns in Litchfield County, Conn., one (Cornwall) of 1600 population and the other (Washington) having 1575. They are as follows:

[1] In his View of the United States, pp. 442–443.

[2] Travels, I. 127.

[3] Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, pp. 183–184. Art. New Fairfield, Conn.

[4] Such advertisements are to be found in the Massachusetts Spy, Feb. 28, Oct. 14, and 19, 1807; National Aegis, Oct. 26, 1807. Also in the Windham Herald and other newspapers published in small inland towns. Occasionally instances of farms of 50–70 acres with shops are found.

	CORNWALL	WASHINGTON
Shoemakers	20	11
Carpenters	4	8
Blacksmiths	7	8
Tailors	5	4
Coopers	6	7
Carriage and wagon makers	3	4
Cabinet and chair makers	2	2
Saddlers	0	1
Total	47	45[1]

It would be impossible, on account of changed habits of consumption and on account of the great quantities of articles manufactured for a wide market which are bought and sold in a modern city, to make any valuable comparison between the present ratio of craftsmen to the total population with that found in 1810. Such a comparison, however, may be made between conditions existing in these rural communities and in Hartford, Conn., in 1819, as described by Pease and Niles. In a population of 6,901 (1820), this city had the following craftsmen:

Housejoiners and carpenters	19
Shoemakers	15
Blacksmiths	13
Coopers	10
Cabinet and chair makers	8

[1] The statistics for Cornwall are taken from Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, pp 244–245, and those for Washington from Morris, James A. Statistical Account of Several Towns in the County of Litchfield. Published by the Connecticut Academy of the Arts and Sciences. Vol. I. New Haven. 1811.

An interesting table of the same sort appears in the description of Middlebury, Vt., in the Massachusetts Historical Society's collections, Series II. Vol. 9. p. 131. It had in 1820 in a population of about 2300 (Census figures for 1820 do not give population by towns in Vermont) the following artisans: Hatters, 3; shoemakers, 8; tailors, 3; milliners, 4; saddlers, 3; goldsmiths, 2; blacksmiths, 9; gunsmiths, 1; glaziers, 1; wheelwrights, 5; painters, 1; coopers, 2; tinners, 2; potters, 4; tanners, 3; bakers, 2; cabinetmakers, 3; housejoiners, 14; masons, 6; and in addition 4 saw-mills, 1 oil mill, 1 paper mill and 2 potash works.

Tench Coxe, in his View of the United States, pp. 312–313, gives a list of the artisans in Lancaster, Penn., the largest inland town in the United States in 1790 (population ca. 3500). It had 234 craftsmen of the most diverse sorts. Lists are also given for four other inland towns, Washington, Pittsburgh, Bedford and Huntington. Ibid. p. 311.

Tailors	11
Carriage makers and wheelwrights	6
Master masons	6
Butchers	16
Painters	6
Leather workers	2
Hatters	2[1]

If we may assume that in Hartford these were specialized artisans, devoting their whole time to the practice of their trades and producing only for the local market,[2] then we may from these figures establish normal ratios of the various types of craftsmen to the total population. The comparison of these ratios with those shown by the statistics of Cornwall and Washington is striking. In only

	CORNWALL	WASHINGTON	HARTFORD
Shoemakers	1 to 80	1 to 143	1 to 258
Carpenters	1 to 400	1 to 197	1 to 460
Tailors	1 to 220	1 to 395	1 to 630
Blacksmiths	1 to 229	1 to 197	1 to 530
Coopers	1 to 267	1 to 225	1 to 690
Carriage makers	1 to 534	1 to 394	1 to 1150
Cabinet makers	1 to 800	1 to 788	1 to 850
Leather workers		1 to 1575	1 to 3450

one case, that of the carpenters, is there evidence of greater specialization on the part of the rural craftsmen. In general we find them serving a much narrower market than their colleagues in the city. Compare the position of the shoemakers in the country and in the city. We find them making shoes for from three to nine times as many people in the city as in the country; the tailor and the blacksmith in the city both have about twice as many customers as their colleagues in the country towns. To my mind, these figures are the strongest sort of corroborative evidence in support of such a general statement as that of Tench Coxe.[3] It seems clear that the 40 to 50 artisans found in a rural town were not representatives of a specialized class in industry, but rather were farmers who had acquired

[1] Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, p. 43.

[2] Although there is no direct evidence on these points, yet the general descriptions given in the gazetteers of this city and of towns of this size seem to justify the assumption. Certainly there is no evidence showing that craftsmen in such a city sold any of their products to a wide market.

[3] Quoted on pages 262-263.

skill in some particular trade, putting it to advantage in the dull seasons of their principal occupation, by doing odd jobs for their neighbors. Certainly making the shoes needed by sixteen or even thirty families, or building and repairing houses for forty or eighty families would have been insufficient occupation for the head of a family. Only by this combination of occupations, "this union of manufactures and farming," as Tench Coxe called it, could they have existed.[1]

The Lack of Division of Labor—Causes and Results.

This completes the survey of the various occupations of the inhabitants and the analysis of the extent of the division of labor in the inland town. We may summarize the results as follows: In the first place, an examination of the method of settlement in the villages, those diminutive points of concentration of the rural population, showed that their inhabitants were farmers—producers and not merely consumers of food stuffs. Then, taking up successively the representatives of what we now call the professional class, the business men and the artisans, or country mechanics, we reached the same conclusion in regard to each, viz.; that with the usual exception of the minister, all of these 50 to 60 men[2] held farms which provided their food as well as other necessities of life.[3] We may think, then, of this whole group of persons as standing on the borderline between agriculture and a specialized non-agricultural occupation. They were at times doctors, lawyers, innkeepers or storekeepers, fullers, carpenters, or tanners, but most of the time plain farmers.

[1] This class of country mechanics offers many interesting points of comparison with and contrast to the "Lohnwerker" described by Bücher in his "Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft." 9 Aufl. pp. 170–171. The "Störer" or itinerant workers which he describes there had their counterpart in the traveling weavers, tailors, and cobblers who worked up the raw material of the farmers into finished goods on the spot. See Earle, Alice Morse. Home Life in Colonial Days. New York. 1898. pp. 212–213; and Larned, History of Windham County, II. 395.

The blacksmith, the most indispensable of all the rural artisans, was perhaps also the most regularly employed of all. Yet very often, up to within recent years, he also has been a farmer. The variety of products turned out in a smith's shop may be learned from the account books of Hezekiah Bunnell which are preserved in the library of the New Haven Historical Society. They cover the years 1725–1764, during which he carried on his business in West Haven, Cheshire and Farmington, Conn. They also illustrate the fact that the payment for the services of the artisans was often in kind.

[2] In a typical town, say of 1500 to 2000 persons.

[3] For a description of various industries carried on in farm houses see infra, Chapter VI.

Thus we can see that the distinction between various occupations which we had set up for purposes of analysis tends to vanish. The broad outlines of a future division of employments were marked out, but the process of separation was as yet hardly begun.

The disadvantages of this lack of specialization, this combination of several professions, occupations or trades in each individual, are obvious and must have been recognized even then. The doctor and the lawyer, the cobbler and the carpenter, as well as the community which they served, must have known that each one of them could have been far more efficient if only he could have devoted his entire attention to one occupation. They knew "practice makes perfect," and how could the practice of any trade or profession become perfect when it must continually be interrupted in order to procure from the soil a partial subsistence? If they recognized the defects in their economic organization, why did they not remedy them? If they realized the advantages which might be expected from greater specialization, why did they not introduce it? The solution of this problem is found in the limited extent of the demand for the services of the non-agricultural class. The towns were small and the purchasing power of the farmers, for reasons which will appear in later chapters, was set within very narrow limits. Hence such a community could not furnish sufficient demand for the products and services of specialized non-agricultural workers to provide the latter with a living. Their only resource to supply the deficiency in income was the soil. Hence the union of all trades, businesses and professions with agriculture.[1]

Our interest in this essay is primarily in the agricultural population; hence it is pertinent to inquire how the farmers were affected by this combination of employments which we have observed in the rural town. Did it make any difference to the plain farmer, the man who was getting his living merely from cultivating the soil, whether his neighbors, the miller and the carpenter, were farmers

[1] No better illustration than this could be desired of the famous dictum of Adam Smith that "the division of labour is limited by the extent of the market." He says: "As it is the power of exchanging that gives occasion to the division of labour, so the extent of this division must always be limited by the extent of that power, or, in other words, by the extent of the market. When the market is very small, no person can have any encouragement to dedicate himself entirely to one employment, for want of the power to exchange all that surplus part of the produce of his own labour, which is over and above his consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labour as he has occasion for." Wealth of Nations. Book I. Chap. III. p. 15. (Everyman's edition).

as well as craftsmen? Obviously, the practice of agriculture by all the members of the community meant that none of them could have an opportunity to sell anything regularly to his neighbors. That is, under such conditions as we have described, there was no market for agricultural produce in the inland town. What this state of affairs meant to the farmers and how far it determined the character of the agricultural industry, and of home and community life, are subjects which are best considered in later chapters.

Manufactures in Inland Towns.

The question naturally arises at this point, How far were such communities as these described typical of all the towns in southern New England? Were there not, perhaps, some towns in which manufacturing or commercial enterprises had concentrated an industrial or a maritime population? And, if so, to what extent did these furnish a demand for the farmers' produce?

A casual survey of the list of articles manufactured in the Northern and Eastern states as reported in the official statements of Hamilton (1791),[1] Gallatin (1810),[2] and Coxe (1814)[3] would lead one to expect that somewhere in these states a considerable concentration of industrial workers might be found. Among the articles there enumerated were soap and candles, tallow and spermaceti; leather goods, linen, cotton and woolen cloth, cabinet ware and furniture, hats, paper, spirituous and malted liquors, cordage, manufactures of iron, gunpowder, glass and earthenware. But when we come to analyze the methods by which these articles were produced it becomes evident that only a few of them were, in any significant sense of the word, manufactures. The great majority of the articles included under this term were produced either in the household, as for instance a large part of the soap and candles, woolen and linen cloth, or in craftsmen's shops, as were the furniture and the leather goods. Such goods were either consumed in the family which produced them or disposed of within the community. Of these articles there was practically nothing produced for a wide market, and consequently there was no cause for the growth of an industrial population. In the case of such articles as cordage, liquors, gunpowder and glass there was real manufacturing. But this was carried on for the most part in a few coast towns, such as Boston, Norwich, Providence and

[1] American State Papers, Finance, I. 123.
[2] Ibid. II. 425–439.
[3] Ibid. II. 666–677.

New Haven, and the effect which these enterprises may have had in creating a market for farm produce is best considered in connection with the commercial activities of these towns.

In many inland towns, it is true, there were enterprises already established producing small articles of various sorts which were disposed of in a market much wider than that of the local community. Such were the buttons, tinware,[1] clocks, combs, and other "Yankee notions" which formed the stock in trade of the peddlers in their annual trips to the Southern states. Yet the production of these articles was conducted on such a minute scale, at this early date, that no noticeable concentration of an industrial population resulted. Towns like Waterbury, or Plymouth, or Berlin, in Connecticut, or Leominster in Massachusetts,[2] were not noticeably different, in the opening years of the century, from the hundreds of other inland towns which had no manufacturing enterprises. Their population was not larger than that of many prosperous agricultural towns[3] and the presence in them of ten or a dozen industrial workers would not have meant much to the farmers. Besides the articles enumerated above, some towns made paper, some linseed oil,[4] others earthenware and pottery[5] in establishments or mills of much the same sort as the grist-mills and saw-mills which were regular features of the village economy.

Hats.

There were only a few branches of manufacture, some carried on in inland and others in coast towns, which had become sufficiently

[1] For a description of the tinware industry in Berlin and of the methods of marketing this and other small manufactures see Dwight, Travels, II. 43–45. Also Kendall, Travels, I. 128–129. A consideration of the early development of many small manufactures in Connecticut towns, including tinware, clocks and buttons, will be found in Lathrop, William G. The Brass Industry in Connecticut. New Haven. 1909.

[2] In Leominster 6500 dozen combs were produced annually by a labor force varying from ten to twenty men. See Whitney, History of the County of Worcester, p. 198.

[3] In 1810 the populations of Waterbury and Berlin were 2900 each; Plymouth, where clocks were made in a few small shops, had 1900 people and Leominister 1600.

[4] According to the statistics collected for the census of 1810 there were 19 paper mills and 24 oil mills in Connecticut, 22 oil mills and 33 paper mills in Massachusetts, and 3 of each sort in Rhode Island.

[5] See Larned, History of Windham, II. 365. These goods were also marketed by peddlers.

important to deserve especial consideration. The manufacture of fur and woolen hats, which in many inland towns was carried on in small shops for a purely local market, had in Fairfield County, Connecticut, been developed into an export industry. In 1810 the census credited this county with a product of 350,000 hats. Most of these were made in the town of Danbury, where there were 56 hat shops employing from three to five men each.[1] As a result of the growth of this industry the population of the town had increased from 3,180 to 3,600 in the decade 1800–1810. Hats were also manufactured in smaller quantities in New London.[2]

The Iron Industry.

Iron furnaces, forges and trip-hammers, as well as rolling and slitting mills, were in operation all through the inland region of southern New England in 1810. For the furnaces the three requisites to profitable operation were a supply of iron ore, a plentiful supply of wood to produce the char coal used as fuel, and a stream of water to furnish power for the bellows. These requisites seem to have been met best in two localities; in Litchfield County, Conn., and in a small area in south-eastern Massachusetts, including towns in Plymouth and Bristol Counties. In Litchfield there were in 1810 four furnaces, 32 forges, 8 trip-hammers, and 2 rolling and slitting mills. These works were rather evenly distributed among 16 towns, those most interested being Salisbury, Canaan and Kent.[3] In the first of these there was a famous mine from which 4,000 to 5,000 tons of ore of excellent quality were annually taken. Iron was also mined in Kent and limestone was procured in Canaan.

The principal articles produced from iron in this county were anchors and other forms of ship-hardware, bells, cart and wagon-tires, sleigh-shoes, scythes, gun-barrels, bar and sheet-iron, and nail-rods. Up to 1810 this industry seems to have had little if any appreciable effect in creating a non-agricultural population in the county.

[1] Bailey, James M. History of Danbury, Conn. New York. 1896. p. 217.

[2] Coxe, Tench. View of the United States, pp. 158–159. In this place there were 17 hatters' shops, producing 10,000 hats annually.

[3] Pease and Niles' Gazetteer gives us facts concerning the extent of the iron manufacture in these towns at a somewhat later date, 1819. There were then in Canaan 8 forges, 7 anchor shops and 2 furnaces; in Kent there were several mines in operation and 7 forges, with an estimated total output of 100 tons annually. Salisbury had 3 forges, 2 blast furnaces, 1 shop making anchors and screws, another making scythes, and 2 shops fitted with trip-hammers operated by water power which produced gun-barrels, sleigh-shoes and hoes.

The largest towns, Litchfield and New Milford, had populations of 4,600 and 3,500 respectively, but in neither of them was there any industrial development beyond the artisan activities which were regularly found in agricultural communities. Their growth was based upon exceptionally large area[1] and upon exceptional opportunities enjoyed by their inhabitants in getting produce to market. On the other hand, the towns in which the iron manufacture was most important were considerably smaller, Salisbury having 2,700 people, Canaan 2,200 and Kent 1,800.

The iron industries in south-eastern Massachusetts depended on the bog ore which was dug or dredged from the bottom of their shallow ponds.[2] Another valuable asset were the tracts of small pines and oaks, which furnished a plentiful supply of charcoal for fuel. At the beginning of the century there were 14 blast furnaces, 6 air furnaces, 20 forges and 7 rolling and slitting-mills in this region. The furnaces turned out on an average 75 to 90 tons of cast-iron each year, the forges had a capacity of about 50 tons of bar-iron and the rolling and slitting-mills produced about 200 tons each annually.[3] The furnaces gave employment to about eight or nine men each, when they were in operation. Besides nails and nail-rods, which seem to have been the staple product, these works manufactured agricultural implements, such as spades, shovels and scythes, wire teeth for wool and cotton cards, saws and edge tools, buttons, cannon-balls and firearms, anchors, bells, sheet-iron and iron utensils.

The towns of Taunton, Plymouth, Middleborough, and Bridgewater[4] were those most engaged in this industry, although a half-dozen or more neighboring towns had a furnace or a forge or two apiece. The total annual output from the works in Taunton was estimated in 1810 at 800 tons, including 350 tons of nails and 200 dozen spades and shovels.[5] In Plymouth there were rolling and

[1] Litchfield contained 72 square miles and New Milford 84.

[2] One of these ponds, in the town of Kingston, was said to have yielded 3000 tons of this ore in the space of a few years. A full description of the various sorts of bog-ore found in this region and of the methods of obtaining it will be found in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Series I. Volume 9, pp. 254–256. Ore was also imported in small quantities from New Jersey for these works.

[3] Bishop, History of American Manufactures. I. 492. See also Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. I. 9: 263.

[4] These were all larger in population than the typical inland town. Bridgewater, the largest town in New England off tide water, had 5150 people. The others ranged from 3900 to 4400.

[5] Morse, Gazetteer, 1810.

slitting-mills whose principal produce was nail-rods, of which they turned out about 100 tons per year.[1] In Bridgewater scythes, axes, edge-tools, muskets and cannon were produced. The manufacture of nails was the particular branch of this industry pursued in Middleborough. The ore was dredged from ponds within the town limits, smelted in local furnaces and rolled and slit into nail-rods. These rods were later turned into nails by the farmers of the town in winter. This union of agriculture and manufactures was commented on by travelers.[2] In fact, it seems to have been prevalent all through this section. The business of the inhabitants of a typical town in Plymouth County was thus described in 1814: "Supplying the furnaces with coal (*i.e.*, charcoal), and Plymouth with fuel, together with the sale of a surplus of rye, and some other productions, are the usual resources of the inhabitants, most of whom are farmers, with some mechanics; and in the summer months furnishing a few fishermen from Plymouth."[3] Here we see that although somewhat of a market was now open to the farmers, due to the extension of the iron industry, yet agriculture and manufacture are not yet separate industries.

Of the iron manufacture in Rhode Island Bishop says: "Manufactures of iron, including bar and sh[illegible]-iron, steel, nail-rods, and nails, farming implements, stoves, pots, and other castings and household utensils, iron-works for ship-builder anchors and bells, formed the largest branch of productive industry in the State toward the close of the eighteenth century."[4] In Providence County where the bulk of the manufacture was carried on, there were in 1810, 20 trip-hammers, 2 furnaces and 1 rolling and slitting-mill. Since many of the towns in which these and other works were located were also engaged in commerce, the effect of this industry in creating a non-agricultural population can best be discussed in a later section.[5]

[1] Morse, Gazetteer, 1810.

[2] Dwight, Travels, II. 31 says: "In the winter season the inhabitants of Middleborough are principally employed in making nails, of which they send large quantities to market. This business is a profitable addition to their husbandry; and fills up a part of the year, in which, otherwise, many of them would find little employment." See also Mass. Hist. Coll. I. 3:2.

[3] Mass. Hist. Coll., II. 4:276. Similar conditions are described in Wareham and Kingston. Ibid. II. 4:286, and II. 3:205–207.

[4] History of Manufactures, I. 503.

[5] See infra pp. 281-282.

Shoemaking.

Shoemaking was carried on by the village cobblers, either in itinerant fashion, traveling from farm to farm, or as a handicraft in their shops on the village street. Here they produced, either from their own material or from that which was brought to them by customers, goods to supply merely the demand of the local market. A wider market seems first to have been furnished in any proportions by the demand for ready-made shoes for the Continental army during the Revolution. This demand was supplied principally by certain towns in Massachusetts. As early as 1778 men's shoes for the wholesale trade were being made in Reading and in Braintree. In Lynn the transition from the handicraft to the commission stage of the industry had taken place somewhat earlier. In 1795 President Dwight found 200 master workmen employed there with 600 apprentices, carrying on their trade in little shops beside their homes along the village street. Their annual output was estimated at from 300,000 to 400,000 pairs of women's and children's shoes which they sold in Boston, Salem and other seaports.[1] Some were destined for consumption in those cities, but the larger part were shipped thence to the Southern states and the West Indies. In Connecticut shoes were made for export in Guilford, Durham, New Canaan and Woodstock.[2] In none of these towns did the population amount to 3,000 in 1810, except in Lynn and Guilford, and in both of these commercial and fishing operations were partial causes of concentration.

Woolen Cloth.

The manufacture of woolen cloth in small factories had begun as early as 1790 in southern New England, but up to 1810 the industry had had a very slow growth. In addition to the high price of labor, which hampered all attempts at manufacture at this period, there were the added difficulties of inexperience with the new spinning machinery, lately imported from England, and the unsatisfactory character of the supply of the domestic wool both in quantity and quality. The new factories were situated for the most part in small towns;[3] they employed but few hands and turned out an annual out-

[1] Dwight, Travels, I. 422.

[2] These facts have been taken from the historical sketch of the boot and shoe industry in the Census of 1900, Part III., Vol. IX., p. 754 and from Hazard, Blanche E., Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts Before 1875. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XXVII., pp. 236–262.

[3] In Massachusetts such factories were established in Ipswich, 1792; in Newbury, 1794; in Monson, 1800; in North Andover, 1802; in Derby, Conn., 1806; and in Peacedale, R. I., in 1804.

put which would now be considered insignificant. The largest of the five woolen mills in New England from which Secretary Gallatin received reports in 1809 employed only 28 persons.[1] The output of the only woolen mill in Massachusetts enumerated in the Census of 1810 was 6,800 yards per annum, while that of two mills in Kent County, Rhode Island, was 11,000 yards for both. Altogether there were, perhaps, 20 or 25 such factories in southern New England in 1810.[2] The mills established by General Humphreys at Derby, Conn., shortly after 1800, described in Dwight's Travels, III. 375–377, are hardly typical. Besides carding and fulling machines of improved pattern they contained two jennies, a billy with 40 spindles, two newly invented shearing machines, four broad looms, eight narrow looms, and eighteen stocking frames. One writer says: "This is a fairly complete picture of the best woolen mill that existed in the United States up to the War of 1812. For its day it was far in advance of the times, and far superior to many which existed a quarter of a century later."[3]

Cotton Spinning.

Although the birth of the cotton manufacturing industry in New England, and in the United States as well, is formally dated from the arrival of Samuel Slater in Providence, Rhode Island, and the erection of the first cotton mill there in 1790, yet up to 1807 the growth had been inconsiderable, only 15 factories employing some 6,000 spindles having been put into operation.[4] A great stimulus was given to the new industry in the next few years by the prohibition of the import of foreign-made goods in the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts of 1807 and 1809, so that at the end of 1809 Secretary Gallatin had received reports from 62 mills in operation with a total of 31,000 spindles.[5] In the reports collected by the census officials in 1810,

[1] Gallatin's Report on Manufactures. American State Papers, Finance, Vol. II, p. 434. This mill was situated in Warwick, Rhode Island, and produced 10,000 yards annually.

[2] According to the Digest of Manufactures prepared by Tench Coxe from the Census returns of 1810, there were 15 mills in Connecticut, 2 in Rhode Island, and only 1 in Massachusetts. The returns for the last state were defective, however, and perhaps a half dozen or more mills were in operation there. See Dickinson, R., Geographical and Statistical View of Massachusetts. 1813. p. 66.

[3] North, S. N. D. The New England Wool Manufacture. In the New England States (W. T. Davis, editor). 4 vols. Boston. 1897. Vol. I., p. 205.

[4] Gallatin, Op. cit., p. 427. Twelve of these were in Rhode Island, two in Massachusetts, and one in Connecticut.

[5] Ibid.

Coxe found that there were 96 cotton manufacturing establishments in southern New England; 54 in Massachusetts, 28 in Rhode Island, and 14 in Connecticut.[1] The district of greatest concentration was then an area within a radius of 30 miles from Providence, including towns in all three states. Here there were 26 mills, with about 20,000 spindles.[2] The mills were mostly small, having on an average 600 to 800 spindles. Such a mill would employ about 40 persons, 5 men and 35 women and children.[3] Up to this time spinning was the only operation carried on in these mills, the power looms not being introduced until about 1815.[4] Meanwhile the yarn was given out to the farmers in the vicinity to be woven into cloth in their homes.

Summary

In summarizing these facts we must again emphasize the real meaning of the term "manufactures." In the only sense in which it is significant for the purposes of this essay, and, indeed, for any economic history, it includes only articles produced for a wide market, by persons who depend entirely upon the income derived from such activity for their support. Of manufactures in this sense we may say that there were practically none in New England in 1810. We found that among the many articles listed as manufactures in the official reports of the period 1790–1810, by far the greatest part were either produced in farm-houses for family consumption, such as homespun cloth, soap, candles, maple-sugar, etc.,[5] or by village artisans for local demand, as, for instance, the products of the saw-mill, the grist-mill, the tannery, or the hatter's shop. A few instances were found of articles such as paper, tinware, buttons, and other "Yankee notions," which, through an ingenious method of marketing, were disposed of over a large area. Yet their production required no organization of industry on a large scale, nor did it lead to the concentration of a non-agricultural population. Only in the case of a very few industries is a separation of employments apparent. We have seen how imperfect this separation was in the iron industry. In the shoe industry, although factory methods had not yet been introduced, still the width of the market supplied had made the

[1] Digest of Manufactures. There were also three factories in the District of Maine, twelve in New Hampshire, and one in Vermont.

[2] Gallatin, Op. cit., p. 433.

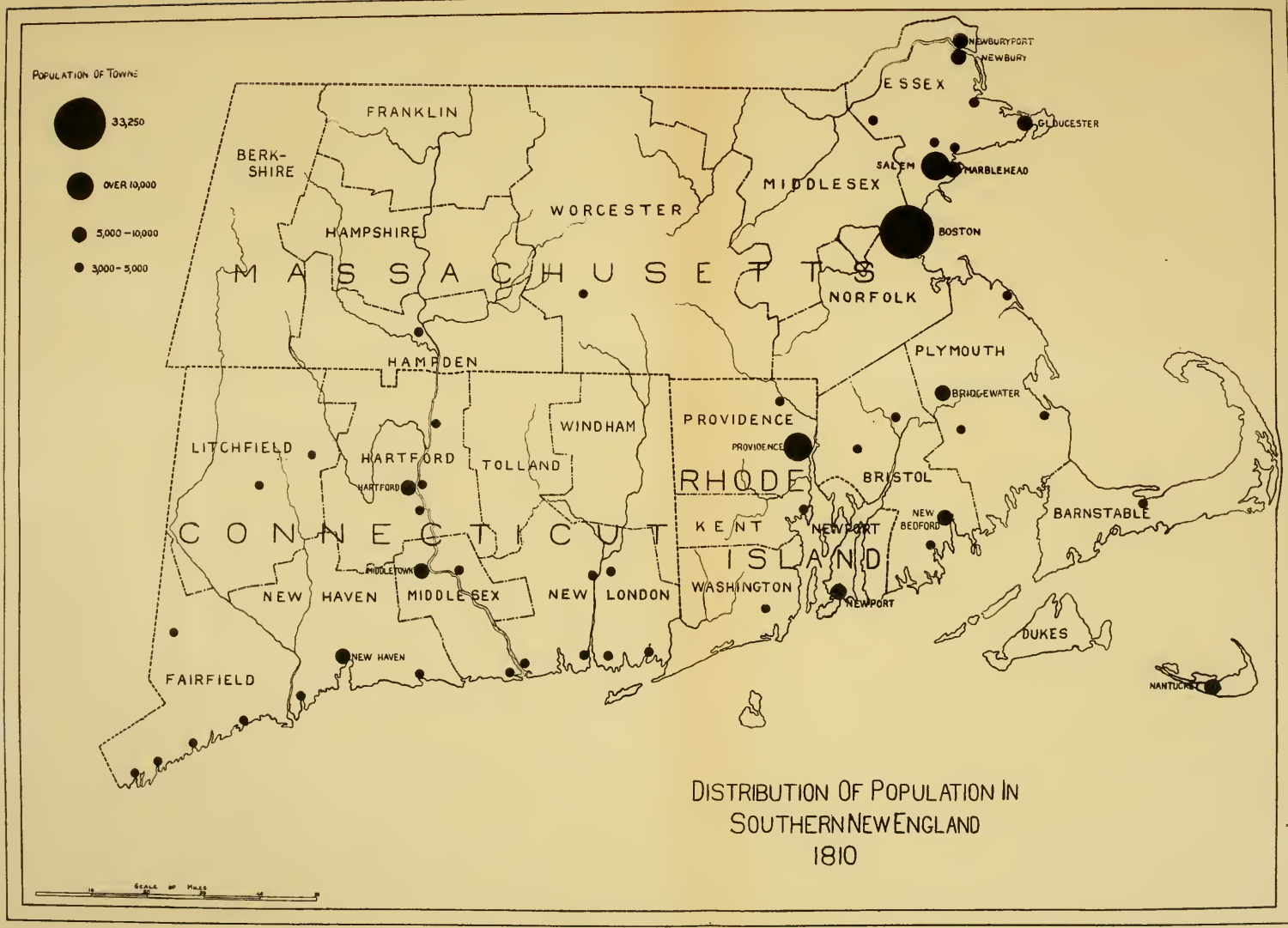
[3] Ibid. p. 427.

[4] Hammond, M. B., The Cotton Industry. Publications of the American Economic Association. New Series. No. 1. New York. 1897. p. 241.

[5] See also infra, Chapter VI.

workers much more independent of the soil. Finally, in the newborn woolen and cotton industries we find great, although as yet undeveloped, possibilities for the creation of a manufacturing population. None of the towns in which these industries were carried on had a population of 5,000 persons,[1] except those such as Middletown, Hartford and Providence where commercial activity was, as we shall see, the principal cause of concentration. It seems hardly an exaggeration to say that there were no inland manufacturing towns in New England at this date. We must, therefore, look further for a market for agricultural products.

[1] Bridgewater, Mass., is an exception.



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN
SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND
1810

CHAPTER II.

The Coast and River Towns.

A glance at the map of southern New England as it was in 1810 will reveal the fact that all of the largest towns in these states were at that time to be found either on the seacoast or on the largest of the navigable rivers, the Connecticut. Has this fact any significance? Were the occupations of the bulk of the inhabitants of these towns different from those of the inland towns? Had maritime industries, such as fishing, trading, and shipbuilding developed to such an extent as to lead to a clear-cut separation of occupations? Is it possible that there was in these towns a concentrated population who furnished a market for the products of inland farmers? If so, what effect did the existence of such a market have on the agricultural population? These are the questions confronting us in this chapter.

Four Groups of Commercial Towns.

For purposes of analysis we may divide the commercial towns into four groups: (1) The towns along the north shore of Massachusetts Bay from Boston to Newburyport; (2) those on the south coast of Massachusetts, on Narragansett Bay and in Connecticut along the shore of Long Island Sound, including all the ports from New Bedford to New York; (3) the towns on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket; and (4) the river towns of the Connecticut Valley.

(1) *On Massachusetts Bay.*

The most important of these groups of towns was the first mentioned. Here were seven towns, not including Boston, ranging in population from 4,600 to 12,000, making a total altogether of 46,000 people. Add to this 34,000 for Boston and 5,000 for Charlestown, (at that time practically a part of the larger city) and we have a total of 85,000 persons living on a narrow strip of sea-coast some 50 miles in extent. It might well be expected that a large proportion of this population was supported by some non-agricultural activity. As far as Boston and Charlestown were concerned, there seems to have been a thorough divorce from the soil. On the little peninsula on which these cities were built there were about 3,000 houses. Their inhabitants were

engaged in commerce with Europe and the West Indies, as well as with towns along the coast, and in a variety of manufactures. The importance of the commerce may be seen from the fact that for the years 1801–1810 the goods imported here had an average annual value of about $10,000,000. About 100,000 tons of shipping were owned in the city and the entries of foreign vessels alone amounted to 900 or 1,000 every year. Of the manufactures the distillation of rum seems to have been most important, 30 plants being devoted to that purpose. In 1796 rum was the principal export. Sugar was refined in eight plants, cordage made in eleven rope walks. Other manufactures were hats, plate-glass, tobacco, chocolate, sail cloth and paper. The shipbuilding business was active in Charlestown.[1]

The effect of this market for agricultural produce was evident enough to create considerable comment. Travelers were impressed with the density of population and with the evident prosperity of the farming towns nearby. Rochefoucauld says that the road from Marlborough to Boston (a distance of 27 miles) was almost a continuous village of handsome houses.[2] President Dwight says: "From Weymouth (11 miles) the country may be considered as one continual village, raised up by the commerce of Boston and forming a kind of suburb to the capital."[3] Much evidence, also, is available concerning the stimulus which was given to improved agriculture. Dickinson, writing in 1812, says: "A market for all varieties of fruit and vegetables is found in Boston. Hence the surrounding country although not especially fertile is highly cultivated."[4]

Besides the encouragement of market gardening, an increased attention to cattle-raising was evident in one nearby town;[5] a specialization in potatoes took place in another,[6] and an increase in the price of land in a third.[7] In general, however, it should be noticed that

[1] These facts come from Morse, Gazetteer, 1810; Dwight, Travels, I. 462; Kendall, Travels, II. 260; Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, I. 479; Lambert, Travels, II. 344.

[2] Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, I. 400.

[3] Travels, III. 110. Other evidence of the same nature is found in Harriott, Struggles Through Life, II. 33, 34, 36–37; Wansey, Journal, p. 48. American Husbandry (Anonymous). 2 vols. London. 1775. I. 60.

[4] Dickinson. Rodolphus. A Geographical and Statistical View of Massachusetts. Greenfield. 1813. p. 9.

[5] Abington, seventeen miles from Boston. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II. 7:115.

[6] Brookline, four miles distant. Papers of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. Contained in the Agricultural Repository and Journal. 10 vols. Boston. 1796–1826. Vol. II. Papers for 1807, p. 21.

[7] Hingham, twelve miles. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, I. 482.

this improvement was limited to a narrow area, perhaps within a 20-mile radius from the city, and at times towns well within this limit were found to be in a backward condition. For instance, a writer says of Needham: "The town in general would admit of more settlements. Much of the land is yet uncultivated; and perhaps a third more inhabitants than the present number might be supported by a more extensive cultivation of the soil."[1] And yet this town was only 13 miles distant from the city and had the advantage of water transport on the Charles River.[2] The influence of the market in concentrating population in the towns in the immediate vicinity is noticeable.[3]

In 1810, Salem was the sixth commercial city in the United States and was said to have a per capita wealth larger than that of any other city. Its population was over 12,600. Its imports averaged $3,000,000 for the years 1801–1810 and it had 40,000 tons of shipping. Besides the Asiatic trade which made this port famous, its fleet engaged in the trade to the West Indies and in the fisheries.[4] The prosperity of this city was reflected in the large population of its agricultural neighbors, the towns of Danvers and Beverly.[5]

Newburyport sustained a population of over 7,600 on exactly one square mile of land, by means of its extensive commerce and its fishing, ship-building and rum-distilling industries. It had 160 vessels in the European and West India trade and 54 more in the Banks fisheries. The latter alone carried crews aggregating nearly 500 men.[6] The rural town which benefited by this market was Newbury, a few miles farther up on the Merrimac River. It had practically no village settlement and, aside from a few fishing enterprises, its inhabitants were all engaged in farming. They culti-

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II. 1:180.

[2] Water transportation brought a region at a much greater distance within reach of the Boston market. This was Barnstable County which sent onions, flaxseed, corn and firewood thither. A fleet of 30 coasting vessels was said to have been regularly employed in carrying the latter product alone at this time. Mass. Hist. Coll. I. 3:14.

[3] Roxbury, 2,765; Dedham; 2,172; Dorchester, 2,930; Cambridge, 2,323. These were all towns of relatively small area.

[4] Sources for Salem are Morse, Gazetteer, 1810; Dwight, Travels, I. 408, 412. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt estimated the fleet belonging to this port at 150 vessels, of which 100 were in foreign trade, 20 in the coasting trade, and 30 in the fisheries (ca. 1796). Travels, I. 474–475.

[5] Populations 3,127 and 4,609 respectively in 1810.

[6] These facts are from Morse, Gazetteer, 1810; Dwight, Travels, I. 400–401; Chastellux, Travels, II. 249; and Kendall, Travels, II. 29.

vated their land thoroughly and grew large crops.[1] The population of this town grew rapidly, showing an increase of 25 per cent in the decade 1800–1810.[2]

In Lynn the shoe manufacture seems to have been the chief industry of the rapidly growing population, although probably a considerable number were employed in the fisheries of Marblehead.[3] This town and Gloucester were celebrated for their fishing fleets. The former had 100 fishing vessels and 40 merchantmen, employing together in their crews some 1,100 men.[4] The Gloucester fleets employed about half that number.[5]

President Dwight sums up the fishing industry of these and other towns in Essex County as follows:

"Salem, Newburyport, Gloucester, Marblehead, Beverly, Haverhill, and Manchester are commercial and fishing towns; and contained together, in 1800, 33,620 inhabitants. (In 1810, 40,517.) To these may be added from Ipswich, Amesbury, Salisbury, Bradford, &c., enough to make the number 40,000; a greater number than are employed in this business in any county of the United States; if we except the cities of Philadelphia and New York. The commerce of this county is very great; and the fish caught and exported by its inhabitants, are more, it is believed, than one-half of all, which are exported from the Union. Its wealth is proportionally great . . . . The surface of this county is generally pleasant; the soil in most places pretty good; and the agriculture creditable to the inhabitants. The farmers are, accordingly, in good thrift."[6]

(*2*) *The Ports Along Long Island Sound.*

In the second general region of commercial activity, the northern shore of Long Island Sound, the principal points of concentration of

[1] The answers returned in 1807 to the questionnaire of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture showed this town to be far in advance of others in regions farther inland. Its farmers ploughed the land destined for grain crops twice instead of once, as was usual elsewhere; and they applied fertilizers more liberally. The results were average crops which were considered high in those days. Their corn yielded 40 bushels per acre; their potatoes 200 bushels; barley, 25 bushels; rye, 20 bushels; and wheat, 10 to 18 bushels. Papers for 1807, in Vol. II., p. 15.

[2] From 4,076 to 5,176.

[3] The shoe industry we have already considered. See p. 273.

[4] Morse, Gazetteer, 1810; Dwight, Travels, I. 421; Kendall, Travels, III. 28; Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, I. 477.

[5] Morse, Gazetteer, 1810.

[6] Travels, I. 424.

the population were the cities of New Bedford, Providence, New London and New Haven. Of these Providence was by far the most important. It was not only the seat of an extensive coasting trade and port of entry for large quantities of foreign commodities, but was also the chief manufacturing town of New England. We have seen what rapid strides the cotton industry made in its vicinity, especially in the years 1807–1810.[1] President Dwight was informed that at this time five-eighths of the population of this city (10,071 in 1810), were directly or indirectly employed in this manufacture.[2] The same writer considered the woolen mills here the most extensive in the country. They were remarkable for the use of power from a 30 horse-power steam engine. The output was about 200 yards of broadcloth per diem.[3] Other industries carried on here were rum-distilling, shipbuilding, sugar-refining and the refining of whale oil. The activities of the little adjacent town of North Providence (16 square miles, 1,758 population) should be included in any description of the larger community. A fall in the Pawtucket River at this point furnished excellent water power. Dwight says: "Of this advantage the inhabitants have availed themselves. There is probably no spot in New England, of the same extent, in which the same quantity or variety of manufacturing business is carried on."[4] Among the industries which he enumerates are an iron furnace, a slitting-mill, a machine for cutting screws, three anchor forges, a cotton manufactory and three snuff-mills. The cotton manufacture had arisen also in a number of towns on the shores of Narragansett Bay near Providence. Of these Warwick and Smithfield were the most important. Both of these towns had about 3,800 inhabitants, who, besides farming, engaged in the coasting trade along the Sound.[5]

This combined manufacturing and commercial interest, centering in Providence, had a plainly noticeable effect on the density of settlement along the shores of the bay. The country immediately surrounding the city was so "lean" that it could scarcely support its own inhabitants; consequently a wider area than would be usual was affected. Attleborough and Rehoboth in Massachusetts, distant some ten to twelve miles by land, grew rapidly in population and

[1] Supra, pp. 274-275.

[2] Travels, IV. 477–479. Among those "indirectly interested" he includes the workmen of all sorts whose labor was necessary for the erection of factories, etc.

[3] Ibid., p. 480.

[4] Op. cit., II. 18.

[5] Morse, Gazetteer, 1810; Kendall, Travels, I. 330.

prosperity as a result.[1] Kendall says of the town of Portsmouth, on an island in the bay some 15 miles distant: "The lands on this island, which are rich and dear, are often divided into much smaller portions than is usual in the United States in general; but they are then employed in raising culinary vegetables for the consumption of Newport and more distant places. Fifty, twenty, and even ten acres, are in many instances the extent of a farm, or rather garden-ground."[2]

A calculation of the density of population in the ten towns nearest to Providence around the shores of the Bay, gives some striking figures; these towns varied from 52 to 290 persons per square mile. In only one, North Kingston, did the figure fall below the average for the state, 61.6 per square mile. The little town of Warren had a density of over 290 on its four square miles; Bristol had 224; North Providence 110; and Portsmouth 105. The average density for the ten towns was 103.2.[3] When this figure is compared with the normal density of an inland agricultural town, 45 to 50 per square mile,[4] a very marked difference is apparent. Without doubt the greater density was due to the employment of a part of the population in non-agricultural pursuits. The opportunity of supplying this body of people, and also the West India market, encouraged the farmers to more intensive cultivation and hence the supporting power of the land was increased to a point far beyond that of inland regions.

New Bedford had 5,600 inhabitants, of whom a considerable proportion lived in a village of 300 houses. They were engaged in ship-building and in the carrying trade, principally between New York and the ports of southern Europe. Some ships were also engaged in trading from this port to the East and West Indies. Its fleet consisted of 90 to 100 ships and brigs, of about 250 tons each, and 20 to 30 small vessels; their crews numbered in all from 1,000 to 1,500 men.[5] The nearby town of Westport is said to have profited by the market in New Bedford.[6]

[1] Dwight, Travels, II. 18.

[2] Travels, II. 6.

[3] These figures were obtained by dividing the Census figures for 1810 by the areas given in Pease and Niles' Gazetteer.

[4] The average density of population in six inland counties in Massachusetts was 48 per square mile; in Connecticut the figure for three inland counties was 42.

[5] Kendall, Travels, II. 215–216; Dwight, Travels, III. 58; Mass. Hist. Coll., II. 3:18. The formerly prosperous whaling business had declined ca. 1810.

[6] Dwight, Op. cit., III. 57.

Returning to the mainland, we find that between Providence and New York almost every town dabbled somewhat in commerce, sending out ten or a dozen small vessels more or less regularly to engage in carrying food supplies and firewood to the West Indies, New York and the Southern states. Some carried on small manufactures and others built a few ships each year. Stonington, Conn., furnishes a typical example. It owned 1,100 tons of shipping, including ten or fifteen fishing vessels, three regular packet-sloops running to and from New York, and one sealing ship. Perhaps a third of its 3,000 inhabitants lived in a village of 120 houses clustered about the wharves. Such a community would demand little in the way of food products which could not be supplied within its own limits.[1]

There are only three towns of this group, New Haven, New London and Norwich, all in Connecticut, which deserve especial attention. Concerning the first of these considerable detailed information is to be found in the Statistical Account of the City of New Haven by Timothy Dwight, at that time president of Yale College.[2] The principal interest of its 7,000 inhabitants was foreign and domestic commerce. This was carried on by a fleet of about 80 vessels, three-fourths of which were in the former branch. Some twenty of these were comparatively large ships, carrying crews of forty men and boys. They made extended voyages to the seal-fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, bringing back surprising profits to their owners.[3] The exports of this port averaged $560,000 a year for the years 1801–1809, and the imports $390,000 during the same period. Besides this there was some business done in the re-export of foreign commodities, amounting on the average to $56,000 a year.[4] Some manufacturing was done for export as well as for the local market. In 1806 the principal wares of this sort sent out were candles, 120,000 lbs.; leather, 20,000 lbs.; and nails, hats and shoes in smaller quantities.

Enough material is accessible to furnish a complete and detailed

[1] These facts are taken from Pease and Niles, Gazetteer. Other towns along the Connecticut coast, described there, had interests similar to those of this town but, in general, on a smaller scale. They were Groton, Lyme, Saybrook, Killingworth, Guilford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich.

[2] Published by the Connecticut Academy of the Arts and Sciences. Vol. I., No. 1, New Haven. 1811.

[3] For a description of this business see Trowbridge, Thomas Rutherford. Ancient Maritime Interests of New Haven. In The New England States. (W. T. Davis, ed.) 4 vols. Boston. 1897. Vol. I., pp. 780–788.

[4] Dwight quotes these figures from a report of the Secretary of the Treasury. Travels, I. 158.

account of the occupations of the inhabitants of this town in 1810. The commercial interest was represented by 29 houses concerned in foreign trade, 41 dry goods stores and 42 grocery stores. There were about 300 craftsmen of all sorts, the carpenters heading the list with 50 men. The professional classes numbered 48, of whom 16 were teachers in the public schools and the same number lawyers. Adding to this total some 200 clerks, assistants and helpers, we arrive at a figure, 700, which would include all these persons and might be taken as the sum of the non-agricultural class. To estimate what proportion of the total population they and their families formed, this figure should be multiplied by 5.47, the average size of a family in the town.[1] The sum thus obtained is 3,829 persons, or less than 55 per cent of the total population,[2] who may be thought of as being supported by occupations other than agriculture. They lived in a compact settlement of 750 houses in the center of the town and carried on their businesses, trades and professions in an equal number of shops and stores.

How did the remaining 3,100 people, or 45 per cent, get their living? It is only logical to assume that they were farmers, and the testimony of travelers supports this assumption. Lambert found several large fields of maize growing in the center of the town.[3] Dwight says: "The supplies of flesh and fish are ample, and of vegetables, sufficient for the demand of the inhabitants, most of whom are furnished from their own gardens."[4] In his Statistical Account he gives a detailed list of the vegetables raised in these gardens.[5] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, writing some fifteen years earlier, had said: "Most of them (the inhabitants) have farms in the neighborhood, which supply provisions for their families. These small possessions in the hands of the towns-people, make it impossible for those who have a surplus of produce to find a sale for it in New Haven; it is, accordingly, sent to New York."[6] Wood, however, was an important import,

[1] This, of course, on the assumption that each person in the above enumeration was the head of a family. In case this assumption were not justified, the proportion of the non-agricultural to the total population would be even smaller. The figure 5.47 is taken from a computation made in 1787. See Statistical Account, p. 80.

[2] To this figure might be added the 60 paupers then supported from the town treasury.

[3] Travels, II. 297. His visit was made either in 1807 or 1808.

[4] Travels, I. 162.

[5] Pp. 23–24.

[6] Travels, I. 523. The importance of this trade with New York will be considered later. See infra p. 295.

about 7,500 cords being necessary each year for fuel. This was brought from neighboring coast and river towns by water. The influence of the market in New Haven, although it could not have been very great, was noticeable in the adjoining towns of Northford, North Haven and East Haven.[1]

New London and Norwich seem to have duplicated the state of affairs found in the town just described, but on a smaller scale. The first mentioned had not yet (1810) recovered from its severe treatment at the hands of Benedict Arnold during the Revolution. Its principal non-agricultural interest, fishing, employed some 55 small vessels, besides a half-dozen or more brigs which exported a large part of the yearly catch to England. Of its 3,300 inhabitants perhaps one-half lived in a compact village, which besides 300 to 400 dwellings, contained 80 to 100 stores and taverns. Considering the diminutive area of the township, four square miles, it is probable that most of its food supplies were brought across the Thames River from the large and prosperous town of Groton.[2]

Norwich, with five times the area of New London, had only a few hundred more inhabitants. Besides the usual coasting trade[3] and the building of a few ships yearly, they engaged in a variety of small manufactures, being favored by cheap transportation, via the Thames and the Sound, and exceptionally good water power. Some of the articles there produced were: iron bars and wire, buttons, clocks and watches, chocolate and earthenware. There was no considerable concentration of population in this town, its three villages having perhaps 50 to 100 houses each.[4]

(*3*) *Connecticut River Towns.*

Another region in southern New England where a population might have been supported by commerce was the valley of the Connecticut River, from Springfield to the Sound. Here an area of

[1] Dwight, Travels, I. 182; II. 40, 486.

[2] The facts concerning New London are taken from Morse, Gazetteer, 1810; Pease and Niles, Gazetteer; Kendall, Travels, I. 293–295; and Dwight, Travels, II. 502.

[3] As we shall see later, the exportable products of a considerable inland area found their outlet at Norwich. Dwight had high expectations of the future importance of this trade. He says: "At a future day it must, I think, be one of the there most commercial places in Connecticut. For a great part of the eastern division of the state, it must ever be the most convenient port; and there are now turnpike roads branching to it from almost every town in this region." Dwight, Travels, II. 33.

[4] For Norwich see Dwight, Op. cit., loc. cit.; Kendall, Travels, I. 303–304; Morse, Gazetteer, 1810; and Pease and Niles, Gazetteer.

roughly 800 square miles sustained 54,000 persons, an average of 67.5 to the square mile. But of the 16 townships into which this area was divided, only two show any considerable size. The fertility of the soil for which this valley was noted, rather than any great amount of non-agricultural activity, seems to have been the cause of a density of population not generally found at this time in farming communities. All the towns below Hartford owned a few small vessels that traded along the coast and to the West Indies. Some built a few ships and occasionally we find the beginning of manufactures, as in the case of the paper, glass, and powder mills of East Hartford,[1] and the gin-distilling business in Windsor and East Windsor.[2] The river furnished such cheap transportation that even so bulky a commodity as building-stone could be quarried in Chatham and East Haddam and marketed in Boston and New York.[3]

Hartford had in 1810, 6,000 inhabitants, of whom perhaps one-half were concentrated in a village of 400 to 500 houses in the center of the town. Here also were the shops, stores and wholesale trading houses. As Hartford was not a port of entry at the time, its commerce is hard to estimate.[4] Its trade with regions farther inland, especially the towns lying on both sides of the river for 200 or more miles to the northward, was quite large. As a depot for the transshipment of agricultural products, and especially those important by-products of pioneer agriculture, potash and pearl ash, Hartford was much more favorably situated than either New Haven, Norwich or New London.[5] It is probable that a large part of the commercial wealth of the place was derived from this source. Besides the usual craftsmen, which were well represented there, Hartford seems to have had little industrial activity.[6]

[1] Dwight, Travels, II. 268.

[2] Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, pp. 65, 90.

[3] Ibid., pp. 279–280.

[4] The nearest indication I have been able to find is contained in the papers submitted with the Application for a Branch of the Bank of the United States in Hartford (1817). MSS. in library of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn. According to a list (E) there included, 278 vessels paid toll in Hartford in 1816. Of these 189 were sloops; 61, schooners; 26, brigs, and 2, ships. There were also 300 entries not liable to duty. These were probably the flat-boats, rafts and smaller craft from up the river.

[5] This is made clear by a map among the papers referred to in Note 4. See also Dwight, Travels, I. 203–204; and Kendall, Travels, I. 86–87.

[6] The woolen mill described by General Washington in his diary in 1788, quoted in Bishop, American Manufactures, I. 418, had been established only a short time. It ran rather irregularly and was poorly equipped. See Wansey, Journal, p. 60.

Middletown depended for its prosperity chiefly upon its commerce. Since the entries at the port included goods and ships of Wethersfield and Hartford, they give us but little clue to the trade of the city itself.[1] In 1815 there were 24 vessels, measuring altogether 3,500 tons, owned here. Up to 1810 the following manufactures had been established: A rum distillery with an annual output of 600 hogsheads; a paper mill employing 9 to 12 men; a powder mill whose product was worth $1,000 per annum; and a cotton factory, erected 1808, of 330 spindles. The inhabitants numbered 5,300 of whom a part lived in a village of 300 houses. The small influence which this settlement exerted as a market for agricultural produce may be seen in the declining population of the outlying districts. In Field's Statistical Account of Middlesex County we read: "The inhabitants of the southern, western and northern parts of this town (Middletown), are very generally farmers, and as the lands in those parts have long since been taken up for farms, the population has increased very little for many years. There were 80 dwellings in Middlefield (a village in the south-western part of the town), in 1745, and but one more in 1815. The population of Westfield, for the same length of time, has been nearly stationary. . . . Young enterprising men, trained to husbandry, unable to get farms in their native town have removed from time to time, to other parts of the country."[2] Had there been opportunity for the sale of a considerable amount of agricultural produce in Middletown, either for consumption by the merchants and artisans or for export to the West Indies, this emigration would undoubtedly have been checked.[3]

(*4*) *Cape Cod and Nantucket.*

There were two other districts in Massachusetts where maritime enterprises employed a considerable population, who purchased their food-stuffs either from the farmers in their vicinity or from those in other parts of the state. These were Barnstable and Nantucket Counties, the former including Cape Cod and the latter the island and town of the same name. Cape Cod was recognized as a unique

[1] Dwight, Travels, I. 190, gives a table showing the value of the imports for this district during the years 1801–1810. The annual average was $292,000. Here, as in other tables of the sort given by this author, the value of the imports is calculated from the amount of duties paid, assuming an average rate of 25%.

[2] Field, Op. cit., 38–39. The facts quoted in the description of Middletown are from this work, pp. 32–53.

[3] See Appendix B. Emigration from Inland Towns in Southern New England, 1720–1820.

region by the travelers of the period and at least two of them devote considerable space to its description.[1] They divide the Cape in general into two parts; an eastern section, from the elbow to Provincetown, and a western section, from the same point to the mainland at the town of Barnstable. The total population of the county, somewhat over 22,000 in 1810, was divided almost equally between the two sections. On the eastern end of the Cape, fishing and shipping seem to have been much more important than agriculture. All the men in the prime of life were employed at sea, leaving as a labor force to cultivate the fields only the boys and old men. Their exertions were able to draw only the scantiest of crops from the thin and sandy soil. Consequently not only beef, flour, and grain, but even fodder for the cattle, and in the winter, butter, vegetables and cheese must be imported. Some of these products came from the more largely agricultural towns to the westward, others from Boston, and the supplies of rye and maize in part even from the Southern states.[2] Yet such was the productivity of the "ocean farms" that these supplies could be purchased in sufficient quantity to support a population of considerable density,[3] in fairly good circumstances.[4]

On the sand flats at the end of the Cape, in Provincetown, there lived some 200 families who got their living entirely from the sea. Perhaps in no other town in New England could a population have been found so completely non-agricultural. The reason is obvious. There was no soil to be cultivated. "The earth," says Dwight, "is here a mere residence, and can scarcely be said to contribute at all to the sustenance of man. All his support and all his comforts, are elicited from the ocean."[5] A small meadow of marsh grass pastured two horses, ten yoke of oxen, and 140 cows, the sum total of

[1] Dwight and Kendall. The former visited Cape Cod in 1800 and described it in his Travels, Vol. III., pp. 63–97. The latter's visit, made in 1807, is described in his Travels, Vol. II., pp. 127–183. A considerable amount of information concerning the towns in this region, though of a somewhat earlier date, is to be found in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Association, Series I., Vols. 3, 8, and 10.

[2] Even firewood had to be imported, some of it coming from Maine. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I. 8: 195.

[3] A writer describing the town of Dennis says: "A tract of ground not larger than Dennis with a soil so unproductive, would in an inland situation be capable of supporting few inhabitants. But when the Census was taken in 1800, there were found on it fourteen hundred souls. A great number of these persons derive their subsistence from the sea." Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I. 8: 133–134.

[4] Kendall makes an exception in the case of Truro. Travels, II. 16.

[5] Dwight, Travels, III. 84.

live stock owned in the town. There were one or two gardens at some distance from the village, but almost all the food supply, except fish, was brought from Boston. For this the inhabitants were enabled to pay by the sale of cod, herring, bass, mackerel, and other fish caught in the waters of the bay and on the banks of Newfoundland. The annual value of the catch of the two varieties first mentiontioned was over $140,000. Shipping was also an active business; many of the men being employed on coasting vessels owned in Boston and in neighboring towns. On the whole, the people were industrious and lived well; many of them were even able to put by enough money to purchase farms in the interior, where they spent their declining years.

Conditions on the western end of the Cape were considerably more favorable to agriculture. Here, as in most coast regions of New England, the inhabitants divided their energies between the sea and the land. Nearly every village owned from 5 to 20, and sometimes as many as 30 fishing and coasting vessels of from 40 to 70 tons. The towns of Falmouth and Barnstable were especially active in maritime enterprise, the former having a fleet of 50 or 60 vessels, chiefly coasters of large size employed in carrying products of the Southern states to New York and Boston.[1] Agriculture, however, was not neglected in these towns. The inhabitants cultivated their soil carefully, manured it with sea-weed, and not only reaped crops sufficient for their support, but had also a considerable surplus of onions, salt hay, flaxseed and grain for exportation to the towns on the eastern end of the Cape and to Boston.

The evaporation of salt from sea-water was a quasi-manufacture carried on in many of the towns along the Cape. In all, there were, in 1802, 136 works established for this purpose. They consisted merely of a series of shallow vats or tanks, into which the water from the ocean was pumped by the power furnished by windmills. The salt thus obtained amounted to about 100,000 bushels per annum, which at that time was worth nearly $42,000. The local fisheries furnished a ready market for this product.[2] Other works of this sort were to

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I. 8: 127–129.

[2] The best description of these works, utilized largely by both Dwight and Kendall, is to be found in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. I. 8: 135–138. Dwight entertained great hopes for the future of this industry, hoping to see it extended along the eastern coast of the United States "from St. Mary's to Machias." This hope was, of course, disappointed by the discovery and development of the mineral salt deposits in New York and other states in the following decades. Travels, III. 76–77.

be found on the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and in a number of coast towns in Plymouth and Bristol Counties.[1]

The township on the island of Nantucket in 1810 was entitled to rank as the fourth in Massachusetts, in wealth and in the number of its inhabitants.[2] Here on an area of about 42 square miles there lived 6,800 persons, most of them in a compact village containing some 800 houses.[3] The chief industry of the place was the whale fishery, which employed a fleet of 120 ships, manned by 1,200 sailors. On the island were 15 or 20 spermaceti works, which refined the oil thus obtained and manufactured large quantities of candles. The former of these products was exported widely to the cities of the United States and to London, Marseilles and the Levant. Owing to the sterility of the soil and to the greater profit to be obtained from whaling, agriculture received scanty attention. More than one-half the area of the island was given over to the pasturage of flocks of sheep, amounting to 7,000 in all, together with cows, oxen and horses in smaller numbers. The land under cultivation amounted to 1,350 acres, about one acre to each family on an average, yielding a small amount of maize and a few vegetables. For most of their food supply, consequently, and even for firewood, the people were dependent on the mainland. Flour and Indian corn were brought in coasters from New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; provisions for the whaling vessels were obtained in Boston and from the shore towns in Connecticut. The only export of an agricultural nature was wool, less than one-half the total product being consumed on the island. The importance of the market in Nantucket to the farmers of southern New England seems to have been considerably diminished by the import of grain referred to above.[4]

[1] Bishop, American Manufactures, II. 97.

[2] In population this town was surpassed only by Boston, Salem and Newburyport.

[3] The best sources of information on Nantucket at this period are the Topographical Description of Nantucket, by Walter Folger, Jun., contained in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series I., Vol. 3, pp. 153–155, and the Notes on Nantucket in the same collections, II. 3: 18–38. See also Dickinson, Geographical and Statistical View, p. 32; and Morse, Gazetteer, 1810. St. John de Crevecoeur gives an interesting, but not altogether reliable description of the island and of the manners and customs of its people in his Letters of an American Farmer. London. 1783. pp. 114–212.

The practice of land tenure in common, which persisted in Nantucket long after it had died out elsewhere in New England, is described by Folger, Op. cit., 154.

[4] On the neighboring island of Martha's Vineyard, in Duke's County, conditions

Summary—Relation of the Maritime Industries to Agriculture.

In concluding this survey of the peculiar economic characteristics of life in the coast and river towns, let us return to the inquiries propounded at the beginning of this chapter. We have endeavored to answer these questions specifically in the detailed consideration of the various groups of towns. In general these answers lead us to the conclusion that the maritime industries were not, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, sharply differentiated from agriculture. As Tudor pointed out, the coast population were economically a race of amphibians.[1] They got their living both from the sea and from the land; the proportion of their income which was derived from either element depending partly on the fertility of the soil in their particular locality and partly on the advantages of their situation for fishing and trading. Where the soil was sterile and sandy, as on the eastern end of Cape Cod and on Nantucket, there we found almost the entire support of the inhabitants obtained from maritime industries; but in almost all the other towns on the coast and rivers, agriculture was still the fundamental industry, as it was inland, and fishing and trading were auxiliary occupations. As accessory sources of income for farmers, the maritime industries were comparable to the occasional small manufactures carried on in inland towns; in neither case was large scale enterprise to be found, nor the sharp separation of these employments from agriculture.

Only in a few seaport towns did we find a strictly non-agricultural population, deriving their incomes from trading and fishing and purchasing therewith the products of inland farmers. Such towns were found along the north shore of Massachusetts Bay, on Cape Cod and the island of Nantucket, along the coast of Long Island Sound, and in the valley of the Connecticut River. How important

were considerably different. Here the population was only 3,300 on 42 square miles. The land was more fertile than that of Nantucket, and although a few whale ships were sent out each year from Edgarton, the principal port, the majority of inhabitants were supported by agriculture. The export of a commercial product, the wool shorn from their large flocks of sheep, was the chief point of difference between the farm life in these towns and those on the mainland. See Morse, Gazetteer, 1810. Arts. Martha's Vineyard and Edgarton.

[1] "Most of the people near the sea coast of the latter have been sailors for a time and occasionally go on some short voyage, if they find they can earn a few more dollars than by staying at home. There are many villages, where a population of farmers would be found to be good sailors in a moment if the occasion required it." Tudor, William. Letters on the Eastern States. 2 ed. Boston. 1821. p. 118, note.

to the farmers of southern New England was the market thus supplied? That the farmers in the near vicinity, say within a radius of fifteen or twenty miles, of the largest city, Boston, benefited largely from their opportunities to sell farm produce, is a well-established fact.[1] The area affected by the markets in such smaller cities as Salem, Newburyport, Providence, and Nantucket was narrower in proportion as the numbers of their inhabitants were less. Finally in a third class of towns of 3,000 to 7,000 population, such as New Haven, New London, Norwich, Middletown and Hartford, farming seems to have been the occupation of about one-half the inhabitants,[2] and consequently the influence of their markets was hardly appreciable.

A simple calculation of the relative strength of the commercial as compared with the agricultural population may serve to make this summary more concrete:

In the nine towns on Massachusetts Bay there were	85,000	persons
On the eastern end of Cape Cod	11,000	"
In the town of Nantucket	6,800	"
In five towns on Long Island Sound	32,000	"
In two towns on the Connecticut River	11,000	"
Total	145,800	

If we accept the figures for New Haven as typical of the conditions in the last two groups of towns we may subtract one-half the population of each of these groups, as representing the agricultural element in these towns. The total then becomes 124,300. This figure, it should be understood, does not represent a total of all persons in the three states of southern New England who were engaged in non-agricultural activities. It is intended merely to give an approximate indication of the size of commercial and manufacturing groups who were so concentrated as to furnish a definite and reliable market for the sale of agricultural products. These groups amounted to 15.4 per cent of the total of the three states, 809,000 in 1810; but their importance to the farmers at large was much less than this figure would indicate. A glance at the map (facing p. 277) will show how inaccessible this market was to the great body of inland farmers. Of what importance to a farmer in the center of Worcester County, Massachusetts, or in Tolland County, Connecticut, was the market in Salem, Newburyport or Nantucket? We have already seen that

[1] See supra, pp. 278–279.

[2] As we have seen in the case of New Haven, 45 per cent. were so occupied; this proportion would naturally have been larger in the smaller towns in this class.

the area affected by the largest market in southern New England extended only some fifteen or twenty miles from the city. A consideration of the transportation system of the time in a later section[1] will make even clearer that the fringe of commercial towns on the seacoast must have depended for its agricultural products upon farmers in towns adjoining, or only a few miles distant. Some exception must, of course, be made in favor of towns located on navigable rivers such as the Connecticut, the Thames, the Housatonic and the Merrimac; but in general the market in commercial towns can scarcely be said to have had any influence on the prosperity of the population or on agricultural methods in the inland region.

[1] See Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III.

Commerical Relations of Southern New England with the Southern States and the West Indies.

In our reconstruction of the economic environment of the inland farmer, we must not neglect to consider the possibility of his exporting some of the produce of his land to regions outside of New England. A market in a foreign country or in some of the other states of the Union would have been, to some extent at least, a compensation for the lack of a market in commercial and industrial towns at home, and would have modified to that extent the farmer's economic position.

Markets Outside New England: (a) New York City.

Outside New England there were three districts whose inhabitants purchased food-stuffs from the farmers in the towns of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. These were: (1) the city of New York; (2) the Southern states, and (3) the West India Islands. In the nearest of these markets, the city of New York, there was a population of nearly 100,000, concentrated on the island of Manhattan and a few smaller islands. This population, supported largely by commerce, offered a market larger than any in New England. It was easily accessible to the coast towns of Connecticut and Rhode Island and, to a less degree, to the towns of Berkshire County in Massachusetts and Litchfield County in Connecticut, by way of the Hudson River. However, in this case the New England farmers had to meet the competition of the energetic and progressive Dutch settlers on Long Island,[1] as well as of the nearer situated towns of eastern New Jersey and of those in New York state along the Hudson River.

We have seen that almost every town along the Sound as far east as Providence sent out small sloops to carry firewood and agricultural produce to New York.[2] In Fairfield County, the nearest county in Connecticut, the coast towns had a fleet of 20 or 30 such vessels regularly employed in transporting grain, flour, beef, pork, and potatoes

[1] See Weld, Isaac, Jun., Travels through the States of North America, . . . during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797. 4 ed. 2 vols. London. 1807. II. 372–373.

[2] Supra, p. 283.

to the city.[1] New Haven seems to have traded with New York more extensively than any other port on the Sound. In his Statistical Account of the former city, President Dwight included a statement of this coasting trade for the year 1801, compiled from the shipping books of merchants. The largest items were: Cheese, 220,000 lbs.; pork and beef hams, 24,000 lbs.; pork, 1,900 bbls.; beef, 1,700 bbls.; butter, 800 firkins; lard, 600 firkins; corn meal, 1,000 hhds., and 1,200 bbls.; rye flour, 230 bbls.; barley, 1,500 bu.; Indian corn, 300 bu.; rye, 200 bu.; oats, 530 bu. The only vegetables shipped were beans, 280 bu.; and potatoes, 160 bu.[2]

Although these figures do not indicate any great amount of trade, yet it would be a mistake to judge the importance of the New York market by figures such as these, for the bulk of these products were not consumed in the city but trans-shipped to the West Indies.[3]

(b) Regions of Specialized Agriculture.

In order that a population supported by agriculture alone may furnish a market for the farmers in another region, it is necessary that the former shall be raising a staple product which they can sell to a wide market. To the cultivation of this staple they will then find it profitable to devote all their labor and capital. In order to secure the greatest profit from the comparative advantage which they have in the cultivation of a peculiar product, they will neglect general agriculture and rely for their food supply upon their ability to purchase from farmers in regions where such specialization has not been found profitable. Thus one of the first forms of the geographical division of labor arises.

Such a specialization was to be found in 1810 in three areas to the southward of New England. There were: (1) the tobacco plantations of the Chesapeake lowlands in Virginia and Maryland, (2) the rice and cotton plantations of the coastal plains of South Carolina and Georgia, and (3) the sugar plantations of the West India Islands.

(1) The Chesapeake Lowlands.

Cheap water transportation made these three areas almost equally accessible to the New England farmer, but their importance to him varied widely in proportion to the competition which he must face from the back-country districts of general agriculture. The size of

[1] Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, art. Fairfield.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 67–68.
[3] Kendall, Travels, I. 9.

the population engaged in specialized agriculture was also a factor of prime importance. In both these respects the area first mentioned, the Chesapeake lowlands, was of least importance. The decline of the plantation system was already evident in Virginia and Maryland in 1775. "The tobacco staple was a resource of decreasing value, and many people were finding it necessary to resort instead to the production of food-stuffs for market."[1]

A more general agriculture with considerable areas devoted to wheat and other grains, and in the back-country to cattle raising, was taking the place of the former specialization.[2] The planters in the tide-water region in 1810 were raising beef and pork, poultry and mutton, apples and other fruits in sufficient quantities for their own consumption, and wheat and corn for export.[3] The exceptional plantations which must depend on outside food supplies were very easily supplied from the back-country region where a general system of agriculture had always prevailed, for in Virginia and Maryland this region was in close contact with that of the plantations. Consequently we are not surprised to find that the New England farmers had no market in this region.[4]

[1] Philips, Ulrich B., Plantation and Frontier. In Documentary History of American Industrial Society. (John R. Commons, ed.) 10 vols. Vol. I., p. 83.

[2] Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia. (1787) Boston. 1832. p. 174, had noted this tendency. In his estimate of the exports are found: Wheat, 800,000 bu.; and corn, 600,000 bu., with smaller amounts of peas, beef, and pork. See also Morse, Gazetteer, 1810, art. Virginia.

As early as 1767, John Mitchell had written of this region: "The tobacco colonies enjoy a better soil and climate, [than "the more Northern colonies"] and have by that means hitherto had a good staple commodity, . . . so long as their lands are fresh and fertile; but most of them are worn out with that exhausting weed, and will no longer bear it; they are turned into Corn and Pasture grounds, which produce nothing but Corn, Cattle and Wool, as in the Northern colonies; . . . " And of Virginia in particular he says: "the soil is in general very light, and so shallow, that it is soon worn out by culture, especially with such exhausting crops as *Indian* Corn and Tobacco. It is for this reason that they are now obliged to sow Wheat, and exported fifty or sixty shiploads the last year." The Present State of Great Britain and North America. London. 1767. pp. 175–176, 177.

[3] See the description of Prince George County, Virginia, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I. 3: 89.

[4] A discussion of the commerce of Maryland is to be found in Carey, Matthew. American Pocket Atlas. 3 ed. Phila. 1805. p. 85; in Winterbotham, W. Historical, Geographical, Commercial, . . . View of the United States of America. 4 vols. New York. 1796. Vol. III., p. 43; and in Morse, Gazetteer, Art. Maryland.

(2) The Coastal Plains of South Carolina and Georgia.

On the coastal plains of South Carolina and Georgia a much different state of affairs was to be found. Here on an extremely fertile strip of lowlands, lying parallel with the coast and stretching about fifty miles into the interior, were rice swamps and cotton plantations employing large numbers of negro slaves. Through the invention of Whitney's gin in 1793, the cost of producing upland cotton had been greatly cheapened. With the increase in the demand which ensued, the production of this staple had been extended from the seacoast toward the upland region. The exports of cotton from the port of Charleston increased from 1,000,000 lbs., in 1795, to 8,300,000 in 1801. It was then of greater value than the combined exports of rice and indigo, the other two staples of this region.[1] The extension of cultivation was accompanied by an increasing specialization on the plantations. There was a tendency for the planters to neglect the production of food-stuffs and to turn their whole attention to the staple crops. This tendency is clearly observable in the descriptions of South Carolina in the period 1800 to 1810. La Rochefoucauld, writing just before the beginning of the nineteenth century, describes several plantations, of whose area a considerable proportion was then devoted to the cultivation of Indian corn, barley and potatoes. In one passage he says: "All the planters keep great numbers of oxen, cows, and pigs, which procure their food easily, and without the least expense, in the large forests which belong to the plantations."[2] The following quotation from a description of 1802, however, shows that the commercial interest had then come into the foreground. "In the husbandry of Carolina, two objects are particularly kept in view by the planters and farmers. The first is to raise something for sale; and the second is to secure provisions for family concerns. To the first the principal attention is directed; as being the source from whence all pecuniary advancements are made: while the other is only attended to, as opportunities permit. . . . In the lower country cotton and rice are cultivated largely for sale; while Indian corn, cow pease and long potatoes, are only planted sufficient for the yearly consumption of the settlement: and on many of the tide swamp rice plantations, no provisions, but potatoes, are planted; their produce being only equal to the support of the plantation for a few months. The rest is supplied by the purchase of Indian corn,

[1] Drayton, John. A View of South Carolina. Charleston. 1802. p. 118 and note.

[2] Travels, I. 598. See also pp. 586, 597.

brought down the rivers from the middle parts of the state; and also imported from some of these United States."[1]

Lambert, writing a few years later, said in describing plantation life in this state: "Everything is made subservient to the cultivation of cotton and rice. . . . With hundreds of slaves about them, and cattle of various kinds, they are often without butter, cheese and even milk, for many weeks."[2] In 1809 Ramsay, the historian, in speaking of the increase in the cultivation of cotton and rice since 1795, said: "These two staples have so monopolized the agricultural force of the state that for several years past other articles of export and even provisions have been greatly neglected. In their great eagerness to get money the planters have brought themselves into a state of dependence on their neighbors for many of the necessaries of life, formerly raised at home."[3]

The plantation system, however, had not been extended over a very large part of the lowland region in 1810. There were still many small planters and farmers who, while devoting most of their attention to the staple products, raised sufficient grain and meat for their own consumption and that of the few negroes whom they employed. It becomes important, therefore, to delimit as closely as possible the area of large scale, specialized agriculture; for only in this way can the extent of the market for food-stuffs be determined. This may be best accomplished by an examination of the relative numbers of blacks and whites in the seacoast counties of South Carolina and Georgia. The plantation system in its full development meant the presence of large numbers of slaves with relatively few white masters and overseers. Such a system, therefore, could hardly be the rule in districts where the whites were equal or numerically superior to the blacks. Yet such was the case in all but four districts in South Carolina, and in all but five in Georgia.[4] These nine districts formed

[1] Drayton, View, p. 113.

[2] Lambert, Travels, II. 148. Lambert's travels were made in 1806–1808.

[3] Ramsay, David. History of South Carolina. 3 vols. Charleston. 1809. II. 214.

[4] In South Carolina:

Districts	*Total Inhabitants*	*Slaves*
Charleston	57,480	41,945
Colleton	24,903	20,471
Beaufort	20,428	16,031
Georgetown	22,938	16,568
	125,749	95,015

a continuous belt along the coast of the two states for some 250 miles. They contained in 1810 a total population of about 150,000, of whom over 110,000 were slaves. This, then, was the extent of the market for food supplies in that general region known as the Southern states.

The back-country region of these two states could have very easily supplied this market, except for the presence of a strip of pine barrens intervening between the upper country, where general agriculture was carried on, and the plantation district. This middle country, a sterile area varying from fifty to seventy miles in width, producing little in the way of food-stuffs except in the river valleys, formed a barrier to trade between the regions on either side. It was the presence of the barrier region that forced the planters of the lowlands to buy a part at least of their grain, vegetables, dairy products and salt-meat from the Middle and New England states. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the back-country furnished no supplies at all to the planters. The intervening region was crossed in at least three places by rivers navigable to the edge of the upper country, by vessels of 70 tons burden.[1] There was, besides, some carriage of country produce by wagons from the upper country to the coast.[2]

The products of the Middle and Northern states were carried hither in the small coasting vessels which, as we have seen, were owned in so many New England ports. They brought grain from New York and Pennsylvania; and from New England, cheese and butter, dried fish, salted beef, apples, potatoes, hay and cider. Some of the cargoes contained various products of household industry such as the coarse linen tow-cloth used for garments for the slaves,

In Georgia:

Districts	*Total Inhabitants*		*Slaves*	
Chatham	12,946		9,049	
Bryan	2,836		2,306	
Liberty	5,313		3,940	
McIntosh	2,660		1,819	
Glynn	1,874		1,092	
Camden	1,681		735	
		27,310		18,941
Total for both states		153,059		113,956

These figures are taken from the second U. S. Census (1800).

[1] See Drayton, View, pp. 30–31.

[2] Ibid. p. 141, and La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, I. 630.

straw hats, woodenware and, finally shoes which, as we have found, had risen to the dignity of a manufacture.[1]

In this analysis we have seen the market included under that vague term "the Southern states," shrinking in reality to the population of a modern city of fair size, but spread over 250 miles of seacoast, and distant over 800 miles from the ports of New England. And besides, New England shared the privilege of feeding these 40,000 planters and their 110,000 slaves with the back-country and the Middle states. Only a few New England farmers, those in the seacoast towns and in the towns behind such ports as New Haven and New London, in Connecticut, could have had any access to this market. The mere fact that some products were shipped from such towns to a market so small and at such a distance is the best sort of evidence of the lack of any market at all at home. It shows how strenuously the farmers were trying to supply this lack and to break through the bounds of their self-sufficient economy.

(*3*) *The West Indies.*

The third region outside of New England, in which its farmers found a market for agricultural products, was the sugar-producing islands of the West Indies. There were several circumstances which made the demand for outside food supplies greater in these islands than in the cotton plantations of South Carolina and Georgia. In the first place, the raising of sugar on large plantations with slave labor had long been established and had made great progress through the eighteenth century.[2] Large importations of negroes from Africa followed, and a considerable increase in the white population. In 1810 there were probably about 2,000,000 persons in all the islands of the archipelago, of whom only a few hundred thousand were whites.[3] The principal sugar producing islands were owned by England and

[1] See Belknap, History of New Hampshire, III. 218; Gallatin, Report on Manufactures, p. 439; Bond, Phineas. Letters (1787–1794). In Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1896–1897. P. 651.

[2] The value of the exports of the English islands to the home country had increased from £629,533 in 1699 to £6,390,658 in 1798. Between the years 1699 and 1775 the amount of sugar exported to England from these islands increased from 427,573 cwt. to 2,002,224 cwt. See Edwards, Bryan. History . . . of the British Colonies in the West Indies. 3 ed. London. 1801. II. 595–598.

[3] The figures, based largely on estimates, in Morse's Gazetteer for 1817, Vol. II., app., are 2,430,000. In Worcester, J. E. Universal Gazetteer, 2 ed. Boston. 1823. Vol. II., p. 944, the sum of the population of the islands owned by various nations is put at 1,700,000.

France. Their possessions contained at this time about 1,000,000 negroes and less than 200,000 whites.[1]

We have seen that one of the reasons why the rice and cotton plantations of the South Carolina-Georgia coastal plain furnished a better market for the agricultural products of New England than did the Chesapeake lowlands was that the distance separating the plantations from the backcountry was greater in the former case than in the latter. In a certain sense it might be said that in the West India islands there was no back-country. That is, there was no sharply defined region where the commercial products could not be raised; no uplands occupied by farmers carrying on a general agriculture and selling food supplies to the planters.[2] But this is far from saying that the whole of the arable area was given over to the cultivation of the staples. The statistics given for Jamaica in 1791 show that of the 1,740,000 acres in that island under cultivation, only 767,000 were in sugar plantations, whereas an almost equal area, 700,000 acres, was used for breeding and grazing farms and 350,000 acres for raising the minor staples and provisions.[3] In Hispaniola, now called Haiti, there were in 1790, 793 sugar plantations, 789 of cotton, 3,117 of coffee, 3,160 of indigo and 623 smaller farms where yams, grain and other provisions were grown.[4] More significant, however, for we must remember that the farms were much smaller in acreage than the plantations, is the fact that even on the latter, a considerable area was given over to the pasturing of cattle and horses.[5]

Between the years 1790–1810 there had undoubtedly been much progress in the direction of specialization, especially in Jamaica.[6] Edwards had written at the former date: "In most other states and kingdoms, the first object of agriculture is to raise food for the support of the inhabitants; but many of the rich productions of the West

[1] Perhaps the most reliable figures for the English islands are those for 1791 given by Edwards, History, II. 2; Whites, 65,305; blacks, 455,684. For the French islands a summary of various censuses, 1776–1786, quoted by Morse, Gazetteer, 1810, gives a total of 63,682 whites and 437,736 blacks.

[2] There were highlands in the interior of many of the islands but these were so heavily wooded as to be inaccessible. See Edwards, History, I. 248–249.

[3] Ibid. I. 248.

[4] Ibid., III. 142–143.

[5] Edwards estimates that on a plantation of 900 acres, two-thirds of the land would be pasturage and woodland. Op. cit., I. 248.

[6] The negro insurrection in Haiti, 1791–1801, checked the progress of the industry in a large part of that island.

Indies yield a profit so much beyond what can be obtained from grain that in several of the sugar islands, it is true economy in the planter, rather to buy provisions from others, than to raise them by his own labor. The produce of a single acre of his cane fields, will purchase more Indian corn than can be raised on five times that extent of land, and pay besides the freight from other countries. Thus not only their household furniture, their implements of husbandry, their clothing, but even a great part of their daily sustenance, are regularly sent them from America or Europe."[1] The increase in the output of the staples and the growth of population are both evidences of this tendency to a more and more commercialized agriculture.[2]

By 1810 a large part of the timber products and food-stuffs consumed in the British islands was imported from the United States.[3] In the years 1801–1803 the average annual amounts of the principal commodities imported were: Corn, 500,000 bu.; bread and flour, 233,000 bbls.; Indian meal, 28,000 bbls.; beef and pork, 36,000 bbls.; fish (dried) 50,000 quintals; fish (fresh) 23,000 bbls. Of timber and timber products, there were annually imported from the United States: pine boards, 27,000,000 feet; 36,000,000 shingles; 12,000,000 staves; and 10,000 tons of miscellaneous timber.[4] The value of these commodities and others, such as live stock, horses, mules, dairy products and vegetables shipped from ports of the United States to the possessions of France, England, Spain, Denmark and Sweden in these islands in the ten years, 1802–1811, amounted on the average to $1,225,000 per year. In the first years of this period the annual export was considerably greater than the average, because of the

[1] Edwards, History, II. 459.

[2] Jedidiah, Morse, in The American Universal Geography. 6 ed. Boston. 1812. Vol. I., p. 666, estimates the increase in population in Jamaica at 100,000 in the period 1787–1811.

[3] The importance which the West India colonists ascribed to this trade may be appreciated by reading some of the pamphlets of a political nature printed in London 1800–1810. In the discussion of the impending war and of the advantages to be gained by opening more widely the ports of the islands to the American trade, the dependence of the West Indies on the United States for food supplies is strongly emphasized. Three typical pamphlets of this sort are Brown, Alexander Campbell. Colony Commerce. London. (ca. 1790); Jordan, G. W., Claims of the British West India Colonists. London. 1804; and Medford, Macall. Oil without Vinegar, . . . or British, American, and West Indian Interests Considered. London. 1807.

[4] These figures are obtained by division of the totals for the three years given by Medford, Oil without Vinegar, app. No. 2. He claims to have had them from official documents.

relaxation of many of the restrictions on the commerce of their colonies during the wars in which France and England were engaged. In the years 1807–1809, on the other hand, the figures fell much below the average, owing to the Embargo and Non-Intercourse laws then in effect. The figures for 1810, a normal year, were $1,229,308, corresponding quite closely with the average for the whole period.[1]

The pertinent question for the purposes of our essay is: What part of this sum represented the food products shipped from New England farms? In answering the question we must not be misled by the frequent references to the active trade carried on by the coast towns of Connecticut and Rhode Island with the West India islands. When we remember how small were the vessels employed (according to the terms of Jay's treaty of 1794 they were limited to 70 tons),[2] and that they regularly made only two voyages each year,[3] we are more likely to proceed with caution. Then there is to be considered the share in this trade which was carried from the ports of the Middle and Southern states, such as Philadelphia and Charleston. The superiority of the back-country of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia in the production of grain, especially of wheat, had been apparent as early as 1790.[4] In fact, the seacoast towns of the New England states were continually importing flour and grain from the Middle and Southern states, partly for consumption and partly for re-export.[5] On the other hand in the export of provisions, the three states of southern New England were at this time superior to any other group. They were credited with about one-half of the total

[1] These figures are taken from Seybert, Adam. Statistical Annals. Philadelphia. 1818. pp. 134 ff.

[2] Hildreth, Richard. History of the United States, rev. ed. 6 vols. New York. 1877–1880. Vol. IV. 540.

[3] This is the statement made by Jordan, G. W. Claims of Colonists. 90–91.

[4] The figures for the export of the principal grains, 1791–1792, given in Coxe, View, p. 414, are:

	Wheat	*Corn*	*Rye*
Virginia	395,000 bu.	685,000 bu.	—
Pennsylvania	131,000	414,000	10,00 bu.
New York	186,000	227,000	956
Maryland	140,000	232,000	42
Massachusetts	154	78,000	1,600
Connecticut	—	36,000	—
Rhode Island	438	5,100	—

[5] Governor Sullivan, of Massachusetts, wrote to President Jefferson in 1808: "The seaport towns are supported almost entirely by bread from the Southern and Middle States." Quoted in Adams, Henry. History of the United States. 1801–1817. 10 vols. New York. 1889–1891. Vol. IV., pp. 254–255.

exports of salted beef and pork, butter, cheese and lard, potatoes and onions; one-seventh of the hams and bacon and practically all of the fresh meat and live stock. For these products the West India islands formed the only foreign market. Assuming that the share of the New England states in this market remained constant in the next twenty years, we may form a rough estimate of the total amounts of their exports thither in 1810, by applying the proportions given above to the average annual exports of these products from the whole United States for the ten years, 1801–1810.[1] According to this calculation, the three states under consideration would have been shipping about 960 tons of butter, 486 tons of cheese, 850 tons of lard, $9\frac{1}{2}$ tons of hams and bacon; of beef and pork together, 75,000 bbls., 22,160 head of live stock and 4,000 dozen of poultry.

Estimate of the Importance of these Markets.

For a comparison of the importance of each of the three markets, in the commercial towns, in the Southern states, and in the West Indies to the New England farmer we must rely on three criteria: (1) the size of the non-agricultural or specialized agricultural population in each region, (2) the extent of their dependence on outside sources of food supply, and (3) the amount of competition from other food-producing regions for the various markets. Tested in all these ways, the West Indian market seems to have been most important. The population to be supplied was from eight to ten times as large as in either of the other two regions; it was nearly as dependent on outside supplies of foodstuffs as were the commercial towns along the coast of New England, and more so than the rice and cotton plantations in South Carolina and Georgia; and, most important of all, it had no back-country of general agriculture. This last fact, however, does not mean that the New Englanders had a monopoly of

[1] The average annual exports from the United States, 1801–1810, were as follows: Beef, 76,300 bbls;. pork, 59,000 bbls.; butter, 1,926,000 lbs.; cheese, 972,000 lbs.; lard, 1,700,000 lbs.; hams and bacon, 1,340,000 lbs.; potatoes, 70,000 bu.; cattle, 6,400 head; horses, 4,300; sheep, 7,760; hogs, 3,500; poultry, 4,000 dozen. All of these items, except the live stock show a considerable increase over the figures for 1791. This is especially noticeable in the figures for butter, cheese and lard, the totals for the three being over 200 per cent greater at the later date. The total of live stock had, on the other hand, decreased from 38,000 head (average for the years 1791–1794) to 22,000. This would seem to show that the farmers of New England were finding it more profitable to fatten and slaughter their stock at home and to give greater attention to dairy products as exports.

These figures are taken from Pitkin, Timothy. A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America. Hartford. 1816. pp. 89–129.

the market, for in supplying this as well as the market in the Southern states they had to meet the competition of the Middle states.

The importance to the inland towns of these markets, in the Southern states, and in the West Indies, as well as in the coast towns of southern New England, depended chiefly on two circumstances: (1) upon the size of the markets, *i.e.*, the quantity of produce which they would absorb, and (2) upon their accessibility. The determining factor in the latter case was, of course, the cost of transportation. We have seen that the total amount of agricultural produce demanded by these various regions was not large. In order to estimate accurately what these markets meant to the inland farmers, we must go a step farther and determine, if possible, how the trade in farm products was distributed through the inland country. If equally distributed among the inland towns, this trade would have meant very little to any one of them; if carried on by the towns in only a few favored regions, it might have altered their economic situation considerably, but for the inland towns as a whole it would have had little significance.

In order to answer these questions fully, it is necessary to investigate the general conditions of internal trade in southern New England and especially the state of the transportation system. These matters will be taken up in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

Internal Trade and the Transportation System.

In the absence of a non-agricultural population centered in manufacturing towns and cities, the internal trade of a country must perforce be limited to the exchange of goods between the agricultural regions in the back-country and the commercial towns, if there be any, on the seacoast or on navigable rivers. The inland farmers will endeavor to secure in this way as great a quantity as possible of the commodities which they either could not produce at all, or only at too great an expense. The amount of this trade will depend chiefly on the demand for the farmers' products from the outside, upon the amount which will be taken at a price high enough to pay the costs of production and of transportation. A second determining condition is the state of the transportation system. This, however, is of only secondary importance; for with the most perfect and the cheapest means of transportation, there will be no trade unless there is somewhere a population desirous and capable of making purchases. On the other hand, if there is a steady demand for goods, strenuous efforts will soon be made to improve and cheapen the carrying system. Such improvements, of course, come tardily; it may be from lack of capital available for investment or from a failure to realize the benefits of such improvements; and there is always the limitation imposed by the state of mechanical and technical progress, as, for instance, in the centuries before the invention of the locomotive. Once established, it is true, a cheaper method of transportation promotes an extension of the geographical division of labor, and so stimulates and increases trade. But nevertheless, it is the market which is of primary importance as regards internal trade; for unless there is a purchasing population, either actual or potential, at one end of a route, expensive improvements of that route will never be attempted.

One of the best indications of the volume of internal trade of this sort is the size of the commercial towns. In the sea and river ports there will be a non-agricultural population of merchants and shipowners roughly proportional to the amount of trade carried on by them between the back-country and foreign parts. Boston was the

only port of New England of any considerable size at the end of the eighteenth century. Concerning this port an observing traveler had remarked that its growth was much slower than that of other eastern seaports, and had attributed this circumstance to the fact that its trade with the "back settlements" was less than that of such cities as Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia.[1] A considerable portion of the inhabitants of Boston as well as of other ports, such as Salem, Providence, New Haven and New London, were engaged in occupations quite independent of commerce with the back-country. They caught fish and exported them, and were engaged in carrying the products of the Southern states to foreign countries.

The Waterways.

We naturally look first for indications of internal trade to the waterways, which have always furnished the cheapest method of transportation. There were three large rivers running in roughly parallel courses from north to south, which furnished a means of communication between the inland towns of New England and its seaports. Near the western boundaries of Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut, flowed the Hudson. The few towns nearest this river in the two latter states sent small quantities of beef, cheese and grain to New York, to be consumed there or trans-shipped to the West Indies. From southern Vermont, potash and other timber products, maple sugar, furs, bar-iron and nails, live cattle and horses, and some dairy produce and provisions came overland to Troy in New York state and thence were carried down the river.[2] The towns of Albany and Hudson also served as collectors of these products and distrib-

[1] See Weld, Travels, I. 55. The following table shows the growth of population in these four cities 1790–1810:

	1790	*1800*	*1810*	*Increase per cent*
Boston	18,000	25,000	33,000	94.7
Philadelphia	28,500	41,200	53,700	88.4
New York	33,000	60,400	94,000	184.8
Baltimore	13,500	26,500	35,600	163.7

Boston had, it is true, increased somewhat faster than Philadelphia in the period 1800–1810. This was probably due to the larger share which the former port had in the carrying trade in the years preceding the Embargo and the Non-Intercourse Acts.

[2] Lambert enumerates oak and pine staves, lumber, maple sugar, wheat, flour, butter and cheese, salt beef and pork, pot- and pearl ashes, horses and oxen as the commodities shipped from this region. Travels, II. 502–503; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II. 9: 138.

utors of the West India commodities and European manufactures received in return.[1]

The principal inland waterway in eastern New England was the Merrimac River. Originally it had been navigable only as far as Haverhill, about twenty miles. Above this point its rocky bed and frequent falls had rendered it of little use in transportation of any commodities except lumber. In 1803, however, a canal was opened from Boston harbor across Middlesex County to the junction of the Concord and Merrimac rivers where the city of Lowell is now situated. Although this work represented a considerable investment of capital, its usefulness was limited by its many locks and shallow bed.[2] The principal commodities transported to Boston by this means seem to have been timber and logs. By land Boston received cattle driven in from the surrounding country and from southern New Hampshire to be slaughtered and packed for exportation, and in the winter some grain and dairy products came overland on the snow.[3]

The Connecticut River furnished the only means of cheap transportation through the central region of New England. Although originally navigable only as far as the falls at Enfield, Connecticut, some sixty-five miles above its mouth, a series of canals con-

[1] See Weld, Travels, I. 57. A considerable portion of this trade was diverted in the opposite direction by the restrictions of 1807–1808. It was evidently comparatively easy to smuggle goods across the frontier into Canada, and there was almost continuous water transportation via Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River to Montreal and Quebec, whence the goods were trans-shipped to the West Indies, their original destination. For a description of this traffic see Lambert, Travels, I. 100–104, 139–140, 225–226, 245, 250–253, 260–262; and Kendall, Travels, III. 277, 283, 294; also Williams, Samuel. The Natural and Civil History of Vermont. 2 ed. 2 vols. Burlington (Vermont). 1809. II. 365–367. This writer remarks: "The trade itself has been of great advantage, in promoting the settlement of the country; but the carriage of the articles, being chiefly by land, and through long and bad roads, has been attended with great expense; and has much prevented the raising of wheat, and other kinds of grain. Ibid. p. 366.

[2] The work when completed in 1808 cost about $500,000. It was 28 miles long and contained 22 locks. Its depth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, permitted navigation by boats of 24 tons. See Gallatin, A. Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Subject of Public Roads and Canals. Washington. 1808. p. 51. The traffic through this canal in 1806 amounted to 9,400 tons. Morse, Gazetteer, 1810. art. Middlesex Canal.

[3] See Belknap. History of New Hampshire, III. 80–81. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, II. 160.

structed in the years 1790–1810[1] had made possible the passage of small boats to the village of Barnet in northern Vermont, about 180 miles farther.[2] The only vessels which could be used above Hartford were flat-bottomed craft of 10 or 20 tons burden. These floated downstream easily enough, but when going in the reverse direction had to be slowly and arduously propelled by poling, with only occasional aid from small square sails when the wind was favorable. According to Dwight[3] there was at about this time a fleet of fourteen of these boats which made regular trips between Hartford and the head of navigation in Vermont. Each round trip required twenty-five days and only nine could be made in a season. Potash and pearlash, staves, shingles, grain, beef, flaxseed and linseed oil were brought down to Hartford, and rum, salt, molasses and some drygoods, iron and tea were carried back. Heavy timber was floated down in rafts.[4] The total amount of this traffic in a

[1] These canals were built around falls or rapids at South Hadley and Miller's Falls in Massachusetts; at Water Quechee, now called Sumner's Falls, in Vermont; and at falls in the town of Lebanon, New Hampshire, about three miles above White River Junction.

The canal at South Hadley was begun in 1790 and finished in 1795. It was two miles long, twenty feet wide, but only three feet deep. Originally the difference in level between the ends of the canal was overcome by means of an inclined plane. The boats were drawn on a cradle up this plane by means of a windlass operated by water power. Later, in 1805, a system of seven locks was substituted and the bed of the canal was deepened. The best description of these works is to be found in Holland, J. G. History of Western Massachusetts. 2 vols. Springfield. 1855. I. 305–307. See also Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels, II. 210, and Dickinson, Geographical and Statistical View, p. 30.

The Miller's Falls canal in the town of Montague was completed in 1800. It was almost three miles long, twenty feet wide, and contained ten locks. The water from the river was diverted by means of a dam 17 feet high and 325 yards long. See Hayward, John. Gazetteer of Massachusetts. Revised ed. Boston. 1849. pp. 421–422; Dwight, Travels, II. 335.

At Bellows Falls a canal about one mile long was cut through solid rock at a cost of $90,000. See Biglow, Timothy. Journal of a Tour to Niagara. Boston. 1876. p. 118. Biglow visited the place in 1805. See also Dwight, Travels, II. 83–85.

The two other canals were smaller works and were hardly in operation before 1810. They, as well as the others, are described in Bacon, Edwin M. The Connecticut River. New York. 1906. pp. 310–324.

[2] Dickinson, Geographical and Statistical View, p. 26.

[3] Travels, IV. 142–143.

[4] This list is from Kendall, Travels, III. 218. These are the commodities most frequently mentioned in the advertisements of traders in the newspapers published in such river towns as Springfield, Northampton, Greenfield, Walpole and Hanover.

season was probably smaller than a fair-sized river steamer would now carry in a few days.[1]

At Hartford the goods received from the upper river were transshipped into small schooners and sloops and, together with more provisions and small quantities of vegetables, were sent down the river to New York and to the West Indies. These additional commodities seem to have been produced almost entirely by the farmers in a few towns in the immediate vicinity of Hartford and Middletown, such as Farmington[2] and Wethersfield. The towns lower down the river had practically no share in this trade[3] except in furnishing cargoes of wood for fuel. In 1789 the traffic on the lower river had employed a fleet of about 100 vessels, of which 60 made voyages to the West Indies and the remainder engaged merely in the coasting trade.[4] The foreign branch of this trade was considerably damaged by the restrictions of 1807–1808 and later by the War of 1812. In 1815 the whole value of the exports from the Middletown customs district, which included all river ports, amounted to less than $100,000.[5]

The commodities brought up the river to Hartford were the same as those carried on farther up the river, with the addition of a variety of European dress goods and some other imported manufactures, such as crockery, glassware, etc.[6]

[1] Some indication of the amount of this traffic may be gained from the figures given by Dwight, Travels, I. 287, for the tonnage locked through the canal at South Hadley, which amounted on an average to about 7,000 tons per season. At the canal at Bellows Falls 4,300 tons paid tolls in 1803 and 5,460 tons in 1807. Kendall, Travels, III. 217.

[2] See Porter, Historical Discourse, p. 46.

[3] Field says of the towns in Middlesex County that whereas they send "immense quantities" of wood to New York and other towns, they export very little beef, pork, grain and provisions, "the supply hardly sufficing for the consumption of the inhabitants." Statistical Account of Middlesex, pp. 12, 14, 17.

[4] Field, Statistical Account, p. 8.

[5] Ibid. p. 127.

[6] The general store in this region shows a far greater assortment of goods than those in inland towns, but the staple commodities on which greatest emphasis was laid were in all cases the same: Salt, sugar, molasses, rum and iron. A typical advertisement is that of Bolles, Savage and Co., appearing in the Middletown Gazette, Nov. 3, 1803. This firm has to sell 40 hogsheads of Muscavado sugar, also a quantity of molasses and of Windward Islands rum. They have "constantly on hand" iron, salt and other groceries for which they will receive all kinds of country produce in payment. Some of the commodities which they offer to buy are flaxseed, oats, corn, potatoes, rye-flour, and horses. There were in this issue advertisements of 16 such general stores besides specialized dealers

The Roads and Highways.

The Connecticut River and the two other water routes parallel with it served the transportation needs of the towns on their banks, and carried produce for farmers living within a distance of fifteen to twenty miles on either side. In the intervening territory between the three river valleys, all transportation had to proceed overland on the common highways. All roads in the country at this time were poor; those in New England only somewhat less so than in other sections. The task of laying out and repairing highways had been originally entrusted to the town governments. The selectmen of the town determined what roads were necessary and two "surveyors" were annually appointed to clear new roads and to make such repairs as they deemed advisable. No taxes were collected for this purpose, but the surveyors were empowered to call out all the able-bodied men with their teams on certain days "having respect to the season of the year and the weather" to work on the roads.[1] In spite of the fines which were imposed for neglecting this duty, many absented themselves and often those who did appear seem to have regarded the occasion as a sort of junketing party.[2]

in salt, iron and tinplate, linseed oil, paints and varnishes, leather, bottles and paper.

In another issue, that of August 5th of the same year, a general store offers to buy brown tow cloth, 10 firkins of butter, 200 bushels of potatoes, 500 ropes of onions, and 10 three-year-old mules. Other dealers will buy cider, livestock, apples, hay, rags, hides, skins, oak and hemlock bark, and beeswax.

In the columns of the Hartford Courant the same sort of advertisements appeared including, however, a somewhat greater variety of "European goods."

[1] See Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Acts and Resolves, 1693–1694. Ch. 6, Vol. I., p. 136. Also Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 1643. Vol. I., p. 91.

[2] In many Massachusetts towns this practice of "working out the highway tax" persisted until after the Civil War. In the Report of the (U. S.) Commissioner of Agriculture for 1866 the methods pursued and the results accomplished are described as follows: "No one who has once witnessed the process of 'mending roads' in a small New England country town, needs any argument to convince him that a system more ingeniously devised to accomplish nothing was ever invented. The surveyors, in the first place, are usually elected at the town meetings, and, as the office of surveyor is of no pecuniary profit beyond mere day wages, persons of peculiar skill, could such be found, would not usually accept it. In fact, the farmers of the district take their turns in the office, any respectable man being deemed fully competent. Often some citizen who lives on a road out of repair seeks the office, and is elected, and takes the opportunity to expend most of the tax for the year on his own road, and leaves the rest of the district to be attended to in the future. The surveyor selects, not the season when repairs

As a result, the work, if we can call it work, was most inefficiently done. It was not until about 1775 that this system began to be abolished in Connecticut and provision was made for laying taxes in certain towns for the repair of their roads.[1]

How the Roads Were Laid Out.

The roads first laid out were those serving the inhabitants of the town in passing from farm to farm and in going to and from the center of the town where stood the meeting house and country store.

are most needed, but that which is most convenient for himself and his brother farmers, after their spring work is done, or after harvesting, and notifies every person assessed to come and work out his tax. As the citizens in town meeting fix the price to be allowed for the labor of men and animals in thus working out the taxes, it is usually fixed at the highest prices which the best men and teams could command, and often much higher, every voter who intends to 'work out his tax' having a direct interest to fix a high price, and they constitute a large majority in town meeting. The time appointed 'for working out the highway tax,' as it is rightly termed, arrives, and at eight o'clock a.m. a motley assemblage gathers, of decrepit old men, each with a garden hoe on his shoulder; of pale, thin mechanics from their shoe shops, armed with worn-out shovels; half-grown boys, sent by their mothers, who, perhaps, are widows; with perhaps the doctor, the lawyer, and even the minister, all of whom understand that 'working on the road' does not mean hard labor, even for soft hands. The farmers bring their steers, great and small, with the old mare in the lead, with a cart; and the Irishman drives up with his rickety horse-cart and the mortal remains of a worn-out railroad horse, to do his part. The only effective force on the ground consists of two or three yokes of oxen and a half-dozen men hired by the surveyor with money paid by non-residents, or men whose time is of too much value to themselves to be wasted on the road. Here is the surveyor, who never held the office before, and who knows nothing of road-making or of directing a gang of hands. The work must go on in some way. The roads are soft and full of ruts, or rough with protruding stones. The stones must be covered, and the road rounded up into shape. The cattle are all put to the big town plough, which is set in at the side of the road; the boys ride on the beam, and the drivers put on the lash, and the gutters, half filled with the sand and soil and leaves of a dozen seasons, are ploughed up, the shovel and hoe men waiting very patiently for their turn to work. The teams then stand idle; and this mixture, more fit for the compost heap than anything else, is thrown upon the road, and finally leveled and smoothed by the old men with their hoes; and thus the road is mended. This is not an exaggerated picture of 'working on the road' in many small towns. The occasion is regarded rather as a frolic than as serious labor; the old men tell stories to an audience always ready to lean on their tools and listen. The youngsters amuse themselves by all sorts of practical jokes, among which is the favorite one of overloading the carts, when any carts are used, so as to stick the teams."

[1] The privilege of imposing such taxes was granted by the legislature in Connecticut. Thirty-one towns received this privilege in the years 1774–1780. See Public Records of the State of Connecticut, Vols. XIV–XVIII.

The next step was to lay out ways of communication from town to town.[1] It was difficult to secure co-operation between the autonomous local governments in this matter, the result being that such roads were often neglected.[2] Hence it became necessary to pass laws providing that new highways from town to town should be laid out, or old ways altered, by a jury appointed by the county court.[3] In case the towns to be thus connected lay in different counties, a special act of legislature was necessary, appointing a committee to do the work.[4] This method was not only cumbersome and expensive but often unsatisfactory.[5] In Connecticut, as early as 1750 these methods had to some extent been replaced by immediate action of the legislature in appointing committees to lay out more direct routes between towns in distant parts of the state between which there was considerable travel.[6]

When the routes had been determined by one or another of these methods, a narrow track was cleared of trees and rocks (in newer towns the stumps were often left standing in the road), and the logs were drawn away to furnish material for causeways and bridges.[7] Thus the roads were made passable for travelers on horseback and for ox-carts. The methods of repairing were equally simple. A contributor to the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society from Holliston, in Middlesex County, about twenty-five miles from

[1] Dwight outlines the steps in the laying out of roads in his Travels, II. 121–122.

[2] See Public Records of Colony of Connecticut. 1684. Vol. III., p. 157.

[3] The original provision for this action is found in the Colonial Records of Connecticut, IV. 314–316, and in Massachusetts Bay, A. and R. 1693–1694. Ch. 6. A later act somewhat simplifying this process is found in the same, 1756-1757, Ch. 18.

[4] See Col. Rec. Conn. X. 107. (1752.)

[5] As in the case of the town of Woodbury which was required to keep in repair three parallel roads laid out at different times by the Litchfield county court between the towns of Litchfield and Bethlehem. Resolves and Private Laws of Connecticut, 1789–1836. Hartford. 1837. p. 607.

[6] As between Hartford and New Haven, New Haven and New London, New Haven and Windham. The most famous of these early "state roads" was that leading from Hartford through Simsbury, New Hartford, Canaan and Norfolk towards Albany, called the Greenwoods Road. In all of these cases there was no appropriation of state money for this purpose, but the towns through which the route lay were ordered to make and repair the road. This, however, they regularly failed to do. So in the case of the Greenwoods Road; although laid out in 1759 it was not constructed until 1764 and in 1766 was in "great want of amendment." Col. Rec. Conn. Vols. XI and XII.

[7] Belknap, History of New Hampshire, III. 375–378, describes in detail the clearing of new roads.

Boston, thus described the system in vogue: " . . . . the stones, which for years had been thrown out of the way against the walls, are thrown back, each side of the way is ploughed, the stones are covered with dirt and the middle of the road is left the highest."[1] Roads so constructed and so repaired were bound to be deep with sand in summer and equally deep with mud in the fall and spring. It is no wonder that travelers complained bitterly of them.[2]

Means of Conveyance.

The primitive sort of conveyances used at this time is perhaps the best commentary on the state of the roads. The farmer did his errands, and sometimes carried his produce to the country store or his grain to the mill, on horseback. The doctor, lawyer and minister made their professional visits in the same way. Except between towns and cities where stage-coach routes had been established,[3] journeys both long and short were made in the saddle. For the transportation of bulky produce, ox-carts of a construction substantial enough to defy the worst roads were employed. Chaises with two wheels had been introduced in some towns about the middle of the eighteenth century, but four-wheeled wagons did not make

[1] Series I. Vol. 3, p. 18.

[2] A traveler from Providence, R. I., to Pomfret, Conn., wrote: "In May, 1776, I went to Pomfret, thirty-six miles in a chaise; the road was so stony and rough, that I could not ride out of a slow walk, but very little of the way; I was near two days in going, such was the general state of our roads at that time." Quoted in Field, Edward. The Colonial Tavern. p. 281.

[3] Stage-coaches began to run regularly between Boston and the larger towns in eastern New England, especially along the coast, about 1760, and between Boston and New York some ten or twelve years later. Passengers and a small amount of personal baggage, and later, after the establishment of the Federal Post Office in 1782, the mails also were transported in this way. The establishment of these lines must have led to the improvement of the roads over which they passed and later they probably stimulated the building of turnpikes. Otherwise they had little effect upon internal trade.

An instance of the connection between the rise of the stage-coach business and the building of turnpike roads is found in the case of Captain Pease, a pioneer stage-coach driver and owner, who began a line from Boston to Hartford in 1783. Of him a historian of Shrewsbury, Mass., writes: "His long career as a stage driver gave him abundant cause to realize the bad state of the roads and the necessity for better ones. After long and earnest efforts he procured from the Government the first charter granted in the State for a turnpike, and it was laid out in 1808 from Boston to Worcester through South Shrewsbury . . . He lived to see it completed and to see the benefit it was to the public." Ward, Elizabeth. Old Times in Shrewsbury. New York. 1892. p. 55.

their appearance until about fifty years later. They were still objects of curiosity at the time of the War of 1812.[1]

The Building of Turnpike Roads.

Dissatisfaction with the existing condition of the highways, and with the administrative system outlined above, led in the years 1790–1810 to the building of turnpike roads by individuals incorporated into associations by state charters. The old roads needed repairing; new roads were needed in the newly settled communities in western Connecticut and Massachusetts. The older towns, with the antipathy to paying taxes which had become traditional, were unwilling to burden themselves with the expense of putting the roads into good condition; the new towns were unable.[2] Hence they readily adopted the turnpike scheme as a means of getting better roads without resorting to taxation. In reality they were but reviving a medieval practice in public finance, substituting a fee for a tax. That is, they restored the principle of laying the burden of an expense which was or should have been incurred for the benefit of the whole community, upon those particular individuals in the community who benefited most by it. The states turned over to the new companies certain stretches of the highways to be improved and, to reimburse them for this expense, granted them the privilege for a term of years of collecting tolls from live stock, vehicles and pedestrians at toll-gates. The charters did not specify with any great exactness what sort of a road should be constructed, but were very specific as to the number and location of the toll-gates and the tolls that should be charged.

It seemed to be a splendid scheme from all points of view. The community would get improved roads at the expense of trifling fees paid by the users, and when after a term of years the gates had been abolished the roads would still be there, and presumably the community would then find itself able to maintain them. The incorporators would, in the meanwhile, have invested their capital profitably. So attractive did this plan seem that within a few years after the first companies were chartered, agitation for turnpike build-

[1] See Felt, Joseph. History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton (Mass.) Cambridge, 1834. p. 32. Miss Larned tells of the introduction of these novel vehicles in Windham, Conn., in 1809. See also Wood, S. G. Taverns and Turnpikes of Blanford. Published by the author. 1908. pp. 259–261.

[2] See Miller, Edward, and Wells, Frederic P. History of Ryegate, Vermont. St. Johnsbury (Vermont). 1913. p. 148.

ing began in almost every town. In the years 1803–1807, fifty companies were chartered in Connecticut, sixty in Massachusetts and nine in Rhode Island.[1] Before 1810 there had been 180 companies organized in New England, of which 26 were in Vermont and 20 in New Hampshire.[2]

The Effect of Turnpike Roads on Inland Trade.

The turnpike companies on the whole, however, must be regarded as a failure to solve the transportation problem. In the first place, capital was not readily forthcoming for the new ventures and many of them were unable to begin construction and so forfeited their charters. Others began work but were unable to finish and their charters were renewed from time to time until they, too, finally became defunct. Many companies were organized by unscrupulous promoters, who hoped to make money out of the speculative mania which had arisen.[3] Nor were the roads which were in fact constructed under this system any great improvement over those which had formerly existed. In new districts where the only roads had been winding cartpaths through the woods, the turnpike companies did bring a real benefit, performing tasks which the sparsely settled communities would not have been able adequately to perform. But in the older towns the best that they were able to accomplish seems to have been a straightening of the roads between the larger towns. One of the old turnpike roads can even now be recognized by the direct manner in which it proceeds to its goal, uphill and down. This straightening, which was almost always accomplished at the expense of steeper grades, was not undertaken for the sake of cheapening transportation. Those engaged in carting heavy loads would have much preferred the older winding ways. But for the turnpike companies the straighter road was more profitable, because shorter. The expenditure of capital was but little greater per mile on a hilly than on a level road. The work consisted principally in clearing away stones and trees, building bridges and culverts, and digging ditches at either side of the road. The material thus secured was thrown into the middle of the road to make a crowned surface;

[1] The figures for Connecticut are from Gallatin's Report on Roads and Canals, p. 55; for Massachusetts from Private and Special Statutes of Mass., Vols. II. and III.; for Rhode Island from Index to Acts and Resolves (Rhode Island). 1758–1850.

[2] Macmaster, History of U. S. III. 463.

[3] Kendall, Travels, I. 97, explains the frequency of turnpike companies in Middlesex County, Conn., on this ground.

thus, it was hoped, drainage would be provided for. This hope was bound to be disappointed, however, as can be proven by observation of roads in outlying country districts in New England today where similar practices are followed. In none of these early turnpikes, with the exception of a few between Boston and the coast towns of Massachusetts, was any other surfacing material used besides the natural soil of the region through which they passed.[1]

In the light of such evidence as is available, it seems impossible to ascribe to the turnpike movement in the years before 1810 any significant improvement in the methods of land transportation in southern New England, or any considerable reduction in the cost of land carriage. It was still prohibitorily expensive to move bulky commodities for any distance beyond the borders of the inland town. For many of the articles of farm production a distance of from ten to twenty miles was the limit of profitable transportation;[2] beyond this limit a few products such as cheese,[3] butter, potash, maple sugar, live stock, and, in some cases, salted beef and pork, could be carried; but even in these cases the expense of carriage absorbed a large share of the profit gained.

[1] The turnpikes in Massachusetts were, on the whole, better constructed than those in Connecticut. Exceptionally good roads were those leading from Boston to Salem, Newburyport and Providence. These were surfaced with gravel, or with crushed stone, and cost to construct from $3,000 to $14,000 per mile. In Connecticut there were in 1807, 770 miles of the ordinary type of turnpike road, costing on the average from $500 to $1,000 per mile. The most expensive turnpike in this state was that from Hartford to New Haven, a distance of 35 miles, costing, including sums spent in purchasing land, $2,280 per mile. Gallatin, Report on Roads and Canals, pp. 55–56.

[2] This estimate is based on bits of scattered evidence, such as the following statement of the Rev. Samuel Goodrich in his Statistical Account of Ridgefield in the County of Fairfield (Conn.): "Potatoes are very much used and increased attempts are making to raise them for the market, but the distance from the market is so great that it is not expected the practice will be general." The distance referred to as "too great" was fourteen miles, to Norwalk. MS. in library of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn. In a letter from Robert Fulton contained in Gallatin's Report on Roads and Canals, there are various estimates of the cost of transportation of various commodities on the best turnpikes. These estimates vary from 10 to 30 cents per ton mile. At this rate wood could not bear the cost of transport over twenty miles. Op. cit., pp. 111, 116–117. See also Macmaster, History of U. S., III. 464.

[3] Cheese at this time sold at $160 a ton and butter at twice that price. See Statistical Account of Litchfield, Conn., p. 122.

The Insignificance of Internal Trade.

From this survey of the conditions of internal trade we are brought to the conclusion that the opportunities to supply the markets which existed at this time, both in the commercial towns and outside New England, must have been restricted to a small proportion of the towns. The especially favored localities were, (1) a narrow strip of territory along the coast of these three states, (2) a strip of territory on both sides of the Connecticut River, (3) a few towns in Litchfield and Berkshire Counties in which cheese and other dairy products and wheat could be profitably grown, and (4) a few towns in the immediate vicinity of such ports as New Haven, Norwich, Providence and Boston.[1] Altogether these towns contained from one-fifth to one-fourth of the total population of these three states. This represents the maximum number to whom the market, such as it was, was at all accessible. The remaining portion of the agricultural population was almost entirely isolated from commercial relations with the outside world.

This fact of isolation more than any other condition or circumstance was effective in determining the economic life of the agricultural population in the inland towns of southern New England at this time. There were, it is true, many other features of the environment, in both its physical and institutional aspects, such as the soil and climate, the political and ecclesiastical systems, to which some of the most unique characteristics of the society may be ascribed. But in the background, working sometimes in harmony and sometimes in opposition to these other factors, was the predominant influence of commercial isolation.

With this chapter the analysis of the economic conditions of the life of the agricultural population is concluded. The main facts of the environment of the inland farmer are now before us. Our final task is to describe his efforts to adapt himself to that environment. In the two chapters following this process of adaptation will be outlined, first as regards the agricultural industry and then as regards the salient features of home and community life.

[1] The trade of the coast and river towns has already been discussed (supra, Chapter III). References to the export of agricultural products from other regions will be found in the two chapters following.

CHAPTER V.

The Agricultural Industry.

Although agriculture was the chief means whereby more than 90 per cent of the inhabitants of southern New England got their living, yet it was most inefficiently, and, to all appearances, carelessly conducted. Very little improvement had been made over the primitive methods employed by the earliest settlers. As soon as the pioneer stage had been passed and the clearing of the land had been accomplished, the colonists settled down to a routine husbandry, based largely on the knowledge and practices of English farmers of the early seventeenth century, but in many ways much less advanced than the agriculture of the motherland even at that early date. In the century and a half intervening between the settlement of New England and the opening of the nineteenth century, improvements of far-reaching significance had been introduced in English agriculture, through the work of Tull, Bakewell, Townshend, Coke, and Arthur Young. The knowledge of these changes had spread quickly to this side of the Atlantic,[1] and yet the bulk of the farmers had shown no disposition to adopt the new methods. On their poorly cultivated fields little fertilizer of any sort was used, their implements were rough and clumsy, live stock was neglected, and the same grains and vegetables were raised year after year with little attempt at a rotation of crops, until the land was exhausted.

Contemporary Criticism.

The apparent lack of intelligence, and of any progressive spirit, exhibited by the New England farmers drew severe comment from both native and foreign observers. General Warren of Massachusetts,[2] for example, writing in the American Museum in 1786, drew a sharp contrast between the methods prevailing at home and in

[1] See infra, pp. 346–347.

[2] The author of this letter was probably James Warren, 1726–1808, of Plymouth, Mass. He succeeded General Joseph Warren as president of the Provincial Congress, after the latter's death at Bunker Hill, fought through the Revolution, and was later made a major-general of militia. See Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography, VI. 364.

England. He says: "A man in England that farms 150 acres, would think a stock of £500 sterling necessary; three teams would be employed; four or five ploughs; barrows, wagons, carts, &c. in proportion; 70 to 80 acres tilled; 8 or 10 labourers at work; 800 to 1000 loads of manure annually collected; and perhaps three times more cattle, sheep, and hogs kept, than are kept here on a farm that is naturally as good. A man in America that farms 150 acres, would think a stock of £150 sufficient. One miserable team; a paltry plough, and everything in the same proportion; three acres of Indian corn, which require all the manure he has; as many acres of half-starved English grain from a half-cultivated soil, with a spot of potatoes, and a small yard of turneps, complete the round of his tillage, and the whole is conducted, perhaps, by a man and a boy, and performed in half their time; no manure but dung from the barn, which, if the heaps are not exposed to be washed away by the winter rains, may amount to 15 or 20 loads; and if they are so exposed to much less, without any regret to the farmer. All the rest of the farm is allotted for feeding a small stock. A large space must be mowed for a little hay for winter; and a large range for a little feed in summer. Pastures are never manured, and mowing lands seldom; . . . ."[1]

The author of American Husbandry wrote: "And the mention of cattle leads me to observe, that most of the farmers in this country are, in whatever concerns cattle, the most negligent ignorant set of men in the world . . . . Horses are in general, even valuable ones, worked hard and starved: . . . . This bad treatment extends to draft oxen; to their cows, sheep and swine; only in a different manner as may be supposed . . . .

I must, in the next place take notice of their tillage, as being weakly and insufficiently given; worse ploughing is no where to be seen, yet the farmers get tolerable crops; this is owing, particularly in new settlements, to the looseness and fertility of old woodlands which, with very bad tillage, will yield excellent crops; a circumstance the rest of the province is too apt to be guided by, for seeing the effects, they are apt to suppose the same treatment will do on land long since broken up, which is far from being the case.[2] Thus, in most parts of the province, is found shallow and unlevel furrows, which rather scratch than turn the land; and of this bad tillage the

[1] Vol. II. No. II. August, 1787. p. 347.

[2] For a further consideration of the effect of the frontier, a nearby region of new, cheap land, see infra pp. 350–352.

farmers are very sparing, rarely giving two ploughings if they think the crop will do with one; the consequence of which is their products being seldom near so great as they would be under a different management."[1]

Although usually resentful of foreign criticisms, Dwight is forced to admit that "the husbandry of New England is far inferior to that of Great Britain." He adds: "The principal defects in our husbandry, so far as I am able to judge, are a deficiency in the quantity of labour necessary to prepare the ground for seed, insufficient manuring, the want of a good rotation of crops, and slovenliness in clearing the ground. The soil is not sufficiently pulverized nor sufficiently manured. We are generally ignorant of what crops will best succeed each other, and our fields are covered with a rank growth of weeds."[2]

Farm Management in 1800.

Postponing for the present an examination of the reasons for this inefficiency in the fundamental occupation, let us examine the routine operations of the farmer in the inland communities, in order to determine as nearly as possible how far these criticisms were justified.

Size of Farms.

The 100 to 200 acres which composed a typical inland farm[3] were divided into three roughly equal tracts, one-third being woodland, including wasteland, one-third pasturage, and the remainder divided between mowing lands and cultivated fields in varying proportions. The land under tillage, however, hardly ever exceeded ten or a dozen acres, except in the neighborhood of such commercial towns as would

[1] Op. cit., I. pp. 80–81.

[2] Travels, I. 81, 82.

[3] On the matter of the prevailing size of farms there is an abundance of evidence. See Dickinson, Geographical and Statistical View, p. 7; Livingston, Robert R., American Agriculture. Article in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. First American edition. 18 vols. Philadelphia. 1832. Vol. I. pp. 332–341. The facts in this article apply particularly to the Northern and Eastern states; many of them are taken without credit from Dickinson's work. This article was written shortly before the author's death in 1813. See De Peyster, Frederick. Biographical Sketch. New York. 1876. p. 13. The advertisements of farms for sale in the columns of the Massachusetts Spy (Worcester) in the year 1807–1808 show variations in acreage from 50 to 275 acres. But of the total of 24 farms advertised, only four had below 100 acres; 18 were between 100 and 200 acres, and only two had more than 200 acres.

furnish a market.[1] These fields were separated originally by rail fences or stone walls. In places where timber was beginning to be scarce the latter material was most generally used. When the farmer and his sons piled up these monuments of laborious toil they were accomplishing a double purpose, not only marking off the boundaries of their fields, but ridding their land of a great hindrance to cultivation as well.

The Importance of Indian Corn.

Indian corn and rye were the staple grains cultivated on every inland farm. The first might have been called the cornerstone of New England agriculture. Next to grass its yield was more valuable than that of any other crop. Dickinson says of this crop: "Indian corn may justly be considered as our principal grain, and the most valuable in the whole circle of husbandry. Its increase, compared with that of any other grain, is in a greater degree independent of the season, and governed more by the attention and care of the cultivator. It is mixed in the proportion of one-third, with rye, and constitutes the common bread of the inhabitants. The beef, pork, and poultry, fattened with it, are greatly superior to such as are fed on any other grain. Besides the crop, the average of which is about twenty-eight bushels per acre, the forage it affords is very considerable, every part of the stem and husk being applicable to the feeding of cattle."[2] Dwight says that this crop is "nearly as valuable to this country as all other kinds of corn united, and yields a crop much more certain, and much more extensively useful than any other."[3] Besides its advantage of hardiness which made

[1] According to the answers received by the Massachusetts Agricultural Society to their questionnaire of 1806, the farms in Brookfield, an exceptionally prosperous inland town in Worcester County, were divided as follows: Pasture, 33 acres; mowing, 20 acres; tillage, 6 to 7 acres; orchards, 3 to 4 acres; and woodland, 33 acres. A considerable contrast is seen in the case of Brooklyn (now called Brookline), a town adjacent to Boston, which benefited by the market in that place. Here we find a typical farm with 100 acres, of which 12 were in woodland, 20 in pasture, and 68 in mowing, tillage, and orchards. Papers, Vol. II., 1807. pp. 11, 12.

[2] Geographical and Statistical View, pp. 8–9.

[3] Travels, II. 62. In another passage, II. 294, Dwight catalogues and describes ten varieties of maize grown in New England. Other writers who recognized the importance of maize in the agricultural economy of New England were the author of American Husbandry, who calls it "the grand product of the country on which the inhabitants principally feed," I. 50, and Livingston, American Agriculture, pp. 334–335.

it surely dependable,[1] and its general utility to man and beast, this crop was peculiarly adapted to a region in which labor was expensive. The system of planting in hills at the corners of a four or five-foot square, which the colonists had learned from the Indians, rendered cultivation by cross-plowing feasible and so reduced the necessity of hand hoeing.[2] This is probably the reason why this crop was given more careful cultivation than any other. Besides rye which, combined with Indian corn, furnished the flour for bread, oats, barley, and buckwheat were regularly sown in small amounts. Both the oats and barley were recognized to be poor crops,[3] but still they were necessary, and therefore, under the self-sufficing system of agriculture, they had to be grown. The buckwheat was a useful crop in many ways. Its value in cleaning the fields of weeds was already recognized and it was also occasionally ploughed under to serve as a "green" fertilizer. The blossoms furnished food for the farmer's bees and the grain was used as a food for poultry.[4]

Why the Wheat Crop Failed.

Wheat could not be successfully grown except in a few favored regions in New England, such as the valley of the Connecticut River and the western portions of Massachusetts and Connecticut, in Berkshire and Litchfield Counties.[5] Other grains, as we shall see, yielded poor enough results, but the results of wheat cultivation were so disappointing that it was early abandoned in most regions

[1] In the answers received from the farmers in reply to its questions, the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture printed the following: "From Worcester, it is remarked, that the crop of Indian corn is the most uniform, and the one on which the farmer can most securely rely; and it is alleged, that it is the only one well cultivated in our country, and that for all these and other reasons it is thought the most useful." Papers, II. 18.

[2] See Livingston, American Agriculture, p. 335. He says further: "Ten acres of corn are hoed with less expense, than one of beans or turnips, . . ." The practice of sowing pumpkins in among the rows of corn, to which this writer in another passage refers, would have interfered somewhat with the cultivation of the corn.

[3] Of oats and barley the author of Notes on Farming says, p. 18: "I have not mentioned oats, because in this country it is a contemptible crop and scarce worth raising; barley being far better even for the feed of horses." The author of this thirty-eight page pamphlet, printed anonymously in New York in 1787, was Hon. Charles Thompson, a member of the first Continental Congress and of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture.

[4] See Livingston, American Agriculture, p. 334.

[5] Salisbury, in Litchfield County, was especially noted for the successful cultivation of this grain. Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, p. 258.

altogether. Besides suffering from the inroads of the Canada thistle and the Hessian fly, it was repeatedly damaged by a sort of fungus growth, known to the writers of that time as blast, rust or mildew. Many attempts were made to explain this last phenomenon, which, as the investigations of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture later proved, was really caused by the use of unselected, infected seed.[1] Dwight went to work systematically to fathom the mystery and after examining and discarding such alleged causes as the character of the soil, the climate, and the "noxious effluvia" from barberry bushes, he concludes that the damage must proceed from the use of stable manure as a fertilizer. This, he believed, forced the growth of the plant too rapidly in its early stages.[2] Harriott, the English traveler, came much nearer to a correct solution of the problem. He wrote: "In some of the farther inland parts, wheat is raised; but on the sea-coast, it has never been cultivated with much success, being subject to blasts. Various reasons are assigned for this: some suppose these blasts to be occasioned by the saline vapours from the sea; but I can not agree to this, well knowing that many of the best wheats that are grown in England in quantity and quality, are from sea-marshes and lands adjoining the sea. Others attribute it to the vicinity of Barbary-bushes of the truth of which I can not speak. But the principal cause appeared to me the poverty and sandy nature of soil in general, together with exceedingly bad management."[3]

The Lack of Root Crops.

One of the greatest defects in the system of husbandry practiced in New England was the lack of root crops. Such crops, especially the turnip, were being extensively used in England as a winter food for cattle, making possible the keeping of more animals and in better condition, besides securing for the farmer a valuable addition to his supply of stable manure. The potato was, to be sure, culti-

[1] Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal. Published by the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. 10 vols. Boston, 1793–1832. Vol. V., pp. 132–150. The first two volumes of this collection include the contributions to the Society, published as annual papers. Referred to in later notes as Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers.

[2] Travels, II. 322–329. Kittredge, The Old Farmer and His Almanack, pp. 322–332, has a chapter entitled Barberries and Wheat, in which he discusses the difficulties encountered by the farmers of the period in attempting to grow this grain.

[3] Struggles through Life, II. 32–33.

vated to some extent, and principally as a food for cattle. Although indigenous in America, it seems not to have been well known until the early part of the eighteenth century.[1] By the end of the century almost every farmer cultivated from one to four or five acres of potatoes, not in a separate field but along the borders of the corn or other grain fields. Occasionally we find turnips and carrots mentioned[2] but their cultivation had not become at all general. A cheaper substitute for root crops which was used to some extent for winter fodder was the pumpkin. Planted in the hills of corn, it required no extra land to be cultivated and grew abundantly without attention. In the fall after the corn had been cut and shocked the pumpkins were easily gathered. Although they could not be preserved as long as the root crops, yet while they lasted they furnished a fairly good substitute. Hay remained throughout all this period, however, the chief winter fodder for all sorts of live stock.[3]

Flax was not a crop especially suited to New England at this time, since it required an amount of labor and fertilization inconsistent with the prevailing extensive system of cultivation. Yet flax was necessary for the production of the homespun linen and tow cloth and hence a small field, probably only a fraction of an acre, was regularly sown. A part of the flax was allowed to ripen and although this practice made the fiber less suitable for textiles, yet from the seed thus secured linseed oil was obtained. This, as we have seen, was in some regions a commercial product.[4]

The smaller vegetables, such as peas, beans, onions,[5] etc., were

[1] Belknap, History of New Hampshire, II. 37, credits the Scotch-Irish families who settled Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1719 with the re-introduction of this plant from Europe.

[2] As in Goodrich's Statistical Account of Ridgefield, pp. 5–6.

[3] The best contemporary discussion of the methods of planting and preserving pumpkins is found in Notes on Farming, pp. 20–21. Colonel Taylor, of Virginia, considered pumpkins a much superior crop to either turnips or potatoes, in spite of the advocacy of the latter in the English treatises with which he was familiar. The results of his experiments he published in a series of essays entitled Arator. (3 ed. Baltimore, 1817), pp. 115 ff. The bulk of this work was written before 1810.

[4] Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers, II. 1807, 41–42. In Fairfield County, Connecticut, the export of flaxseed had assumed some importance, the surplus over consumption amounting to about 20,000 bushels a year. The result of this outlet was a considerable specialization in the crop. Dwight says: "A few years since (ca. 1800) more flax was raised here than in the whole of New England beside." Travels, III. 499–500.

[5] The two towns which exported onions to any extent were Wethersfield, Connecticut, and Barnstable, Massachusetts. Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, p. 9; Kendall, Travels, II. 129.

not given much attention except in the few favored regions in the neighborhood of commercial towns, where a market for such produce was at hand.[1] Gardening was much too intensive a process for the farmer at that time. Kitchen vegetables were therefore often lacking on his table, unless the women of the household could spare time from their multifarious other occupations to plant and care for a garden.[2] The farmer had, however, learned the soothing effects of nicotine and consequently often grew a small amount of tobacco. Occasional instances of its export are found even at this early date.[3]

A few unsuccessful attempts at hemp-growing had been made in the Connecticut Valley. Although there was a considerable demand for this product at the shipyards in the commercial towns, yet such intensive cultivation was required, and so much disagreeable labor in preparing the fiber for market, that the domestic supply was greatly inadequate.[4] The breweries in Boston offered a market for hops, which was supplied by the farmers in the nearby towns.[5] Hops were also grown in small amounts by some farmers for the production of home-brewed beer. None of these smaller crops had the importance to the self-sufficient farmer, nor occupied as much of his land or attention, as the grain and grass crops. New England was at this time a region in which grazing was of more importance than the cultivation of fields, and hence the latter operations were subsidiary to the former.

The Rotation of Crops.

Very little progress had been made towards developing any systematic rotation of these crops. The simplest plan was a three-

[1] Dickinson, for instance, speaks of the cultivation of beans to be sold for "ship stores." Geographical and Statistical View, p. 9.

[2] The editor of the Old Farmer's Almanack occasionally encouraged his readers to pay more attention to their kitchen gardens and to introduce vegetables into the bare menu of salt beef, turnip and stewed pumpkin. See Kittredge, The Old Farmer and His Almanack, pp. 84–85. Dwight gives a long list of vegetables grown in New England gardens, but fails to tell how many of them were regularly grown in any one garden. Travels, I. 18–20.

[3] See Lees, John. Journal. New York. 1768. Also Memorial History of Hartford County, Conn. (Trumbull, J. H., ed.) 2 vols. Boston. 1886. Vol. I. p. 215. Also article, Tobacco, by Shamel, A. D., in Cyclopedia of American Agriculture (Bailey, L. H., ed.), 4 vols. New York. 1910. Vol. II. p. 641.

[4] Dickinson tells of experiments with this crop in Deerfield, Mass. Geographical and Statistical View, p. 10. See also American Husbandry, I. 54.

[5] Dwight found considerable hop-growing in Tewskbury, Mass., Travels, II. 189.

year course, alternating grain, grass and fallow, a system reminding one of the three-field agriculture of the Middle Ages. The first crop in this case was usually maize, followed by rye, oats or barley. It was the practice to sow one of the latter grains in the fall after the maize crop had ripened. After this second crop had been harvested, the ground was laid down to grass, or more regularly left to "sow itself;" which meant simply that it was allowed to grow up to weeds, producing the much-condemned weed-fallow. This primitive practice was varied by the extension of the alternating crops over a period of several years each, and also by the occasional interjection of other crops.[1] The Massachusetts Agricultural Society summarized the answers from its correspondents on this subject as follows: "The answers from our other correspondents agree in stating the general succession of crops to be Indian corn and potatoes for one or two years; then either rye, oats or spring wheat; sometimes flax and when the land is laid down to grass, it is usually with barley. It may be inferred from the replies that the land is usually broken up after being in grass three or four years; and that it is usually ploughed about three years, and then laid down as above stated."[2] There had been practically no improvement along this line since the Revolution, for in 1775 the author of American Husbandry had written: "They (the farmers of New England) sow large quantities of maize, some wheat, barley, oats, buckwheat, pease, and beans, turneps, and clover: hemp and flax in small parcels. And these they throw after one another, with variations, so as to keep the land, as well as their ideas permit, from being quite exhausted; which they effect by the intervention of a ploughed summer fallow sometimes. When the land has borne corn for several years, till it threatens to yield no more, then they sow clover among the last crop, and leave it as a meadow for some years to recover itself. But all this system proceeds too much on the plan of the worst farmers of Great Britain, to get corn (*i.e.*, grain) from their fields as long as ever they will bear it."[3] In general we may say that some farmers were making

[1] According to the Rev. Mr. Goodrich, the rotation of crops practiced in Ridgefield was: 1st year, buckwheat or rye; 2nd year, Indian corn; 3rd year, flax or oats, followed by rye sown in the fall; 4th year, pasture. After remaining in pasture a few years the land was broken up and the same routine was repeated. Statistical Account, p. 6.

[2] Papers, II. 28.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 75–76. Clover had been introduced in some parts, but not to any great extent, before 1800. It was valued rather as making good hay than for any appreciation of its service in recuperating the soil. Deane wrote in 1790:

a conscious but unsystematized effort to secure a more beneficial alternation of crops, but because of the limitations of their knowledge on the subject[1] and because of the necessity of getting certain staples, such as corn, rye, grass and flax, under any conditions, they had made practically no progress along this line.

The Neglect of Manure.

There are two means of preventing soil exhaustion and of restoring the fertility of mismanaged soils; one is by a system of scientific rotation of crops and the other is by the regular and liberal application of fertilizers. As we have seen, the farmers at this period had very little knowledge of the former method, even of an empirical nature. Although we could not expect them to understand the principles of soil chemistry, the beneficial effect of common fertilizers was so obviously apparent that their neglect of this method of enriching their soil seems at first glance astonishing. The barnyard and stable manure would, if carefully collected and preserved, have furnished a considerable supply[2] of first-class fertilizing material, but this resource was uniformly neglected. The cattle and horses were turned out to pasture early in the summer and often were not put into stables again, even for over night, until late in the fall.[3] Even the small amount of manure which accumu-

"Some think clover is so far from needing any manure, that it will recruit lands which are worn out. That it will do it more than other grasses, I cannot yet see any reason to believe. It will bear no crop worth mowing on lands which are quite exhausted. But it is probable, it may produce good crops on lands which are much impoverished near the surface, by bearing plants with short or horizontal roots; because clover sends its main roots to a great depth. And while a field lies several years in clover, the soil near the surface may be considerably recruited. But whether the land on the whole will be in better heart, after several heavy crops of clover are taken from it, and no manure laid on, seems rather doubtful." Deane, Samuel, A. M., The New England Farmer. 1 ed. Worcester. 1790. p. 60.

[1] The state of knowledge on this subject is apparent from the following: "There seems to be a general opinion that potatoes are a beneficial crop, and an universal sentiment that flax is a pernicious one. Another opinion is equally universal, that a succession of crops is absolutely essential to good cultivation, though there does not appear to have been any accurate experiments to ascertain the best order, or the duration of this rotation." Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers. II. 1807. 28.

[2] In the Papers of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society for 1807 it was estimated that the live stock ordinarily kept on a 100-acre farm would furnish about 50 cart loads of dung. pp. 42–45.

[3] General Warren wrote: "The common practice, in this country, is, in winter, when they (the cattle) are turned out of the barn, to take no further care of

lated during the winter was imperfectly protected from the weather and consequently a large proportion of it was wasted.[1]

An artificial manure, or commercial fertilizer, as it would be called nowadays, known as gypsum or Plaster of Paris, had been introduced in a few towns as early as 1800. Like other calcareous substances, it did not furnish a lacking element of plant food, yet its action was beneficial in counteracting the acidity of certain soils, and it may have also aided in retaining moisture in dry soils. The gypsum used in New England was quarried in Nova Scotia and transported hither by water. Then it had to be ground, either in plaster mills erected for that purpose, or more often, in grist mills. The cost of this process plus that of transportation and of quarrying, made this form of fertilizer so expensive that only a few farmers could afford to use it.[2] Consequently its use was confined to a few towns in sections from which crops could be exported, such as the wheat-growing regions of the western counties and in the Connecticut Valley.[3]

On the seacoast two fertilizers were easily accessible, fish and seaweed. Along the Connecticut shore of Long Island Sound, whitefish were caught in great quantities and applied to the land at the

them for the day; they are suffered to range at large in summer; it is not uncommon to bring them up in the evening, and let them lie till morning in the roads; the first rains wash the roads clear for the traveller, without any injury to the farmer, who would not have taken the trouble to have cleaned them for any other purpose; . . . ." Letter in American Museum, II. 347.

[1] European travelers could not understand why the New England farmers and those of the Eastern states in general should be so indifferent to this means of fertilization. Harriott relates, Struggles through Life, II. 216, that on the farm which he purchased on Long Island there was "some hundred loads of manure which had been accumulating for several years, to the great damage of the buildings." This accumulation was looked upon by his neighbors as an encumbrance, merely, and the former owner advised him to move his barn, as this would be an easier way out of the difficulty than moving the manure. A similar state of affairs was described by La Rochefoucauld in Lebanon, Connecticut. Travels, I. 516.

[2] Livingston, American Agriculture, p. 338, estimated the cost to the farmer at 50 cents a bushel. When we consider that the purchasing power of money was very considerably higher in those days, this price, which is about that which a farmer pays nowadays for his commercial fertilizers, seems extremely high.

[3] Kendall found gypsum costing $20 a ton in use by the farmers in Sharon, in Litchfield County. Travels, I. 231. Dwight, in the course of his travels, found gypsum in use in nine towns in New England. It is significant that eight of these towns are in the Connecticut Valley. The ninth, Plainfield, Connecticut, profited by the outlet for surplus products furnished by the port of Norwich.

rate of 10,000 to 12,000 per acre.[1] Seaweed, or rock-weed as it was called, was easily collected and served the same purpose to a less degree. Both at the shore and inland a variety of other fertilizing agents was used, such as marl, potash and lime, but only sporadically, according to the enterprise of particular farmers and the accessibility of the material.

The prevailing neglect of fertilizers, to which the occasional use of gypsum and white-fish are merely exceptions, illustrates not so much the ignorance of the typical farmer, as the inhibitory effect of the lack of a market on all progress in the science of agriculture. Of course the farmers of that day did not understand why spreading the dung of their cattle on their fields increased the yield of their crops, but they knew very well that such was in fact the result. Even if they had had more knowledge, it is not likely that they would have modified their wasteful practice. For carting and spreading manure entailed labor, which meant expense either of money or of their own physical effort. And from what source was that expense to be repaid? Not, certainly, from the sale of crops, for without a market that was impossible. The old practices resulted in crops sufficient to feed the farmer and his family. Why should he exert himself to produce a surplus? The only return he could expect would be a sort of psychological income, a satisfaction in seeing his fields yielding more than those of his neighbors. Such satisfaction was a quite sufficient stimulus for the gentleman farmer of the commercial towns, who experimented along all sorts of lines, regardless of expense, but for the self-sufficient farmer it

[1] Dwight noted the use of white-fish in Branford, Killingworth, and Guilford. Of the latter town he remarks: "The soil of East Guilford is naturally less rich than that on which the town is built; but, being extensively manured with white-fish, yields abundant crops. These fish are sometimes laid in furrows, and covered with the plough. Sometimes they are laid singly on the hills of maize and covered with the hoe. At other times they are collected in heaps, formed with other materials into a compost, carted upon the ground, and spread in the same manner, as manure from the stable. A single net has taken 200,000 in a day. They are sold for a dollar a thousand, and are said to affect the soil advantageously for a considerable length of time. The people of East Guilford are not a little indebted to them for their present prosperity."

This prosperity, however, had its drawbacks. Dwight continues with conscientious adherence to detail: "One very disagreeable circumstance attends this mode of husbandry. At the season, when the white-fish are caught in the greatest quantities, an almost intolerable foetor fills the surrounding atmosphere, and however use may have reconciled it to the senses of the inhabitants, it is extremely disgusting to a traveller." Travels, II. 491–492.

was a psychological luxury in which he did not feel he could afford to indulge. The farmers of Litchfield and Berkshire and of the Connecticut Valley had no more knowledge of the scientific principles involved in the action of gypsum as a fertilizer than had their contemporaries in the hills of Worcester or Tolland, but they had learned somehow that gypsum produced bigger crops. They wanted bigger crops because they had a market. Hence they were willing to invest their money and labor and make the experiment. Hence their progress in the science of agriculture.

The Farm Equipment—Buildings, Tools and Implements.

It was this lack of a market which explains to a large extent the small investment of capital in agriculture at this time, either in permanent improvements, such as drains and buildings, or in tools and implements. A house and barn were necessary and these were in general conveniently and substantially built. The latter had a threshing floor in the middle and stables for horses and cows on either side. Some of the hay was mowed away above the stables and the remainder was stacked near the barn in sheds, open at the sides and covered with a thatched or shingled roof. A corn-crib was always in evidence, set up on stilts as now, as a protection against mice and dampness. Of the tools and implements used on the farm we shall have occasion to speak in another connection.[1] They were few and ill-contrived. One writer says that the farmer of this period could have carried them all, except the cart and harrow, upon his back.[2] They included a plough, a hoe, a pitchfork, a manure-fork and a shovel, all of which were clumsily constructed of wood, often by the farmer himself, and plated with strips of sheet iron, perhaps by the local blacksmith; a flail for threshing grain and a a fan and riddle-sieve for winnowing. The practice of treading out the grain from the straw by driving cattle over it, which had persisted since the days of the ancient Israelites, was still to be found in some of the Middle states, but seems to have been superseded in New England.[3] The sickle, the most ancient of harvesting im-

[1] See infra, pp. 364–365.

[2] Flint, Charles Louis. Progress in Agriculture. In Eighty Years' Progress of the United States. Hartford. 1867. p. 24.

[3] See American Museum, V. 379; and Deane, New England Farmer, p. 283. A day's work with the flail yielded from four to six bushels of wheat and from six to twelve bushels of barley, according to the size of the grains. Ibid. Indian corn was sometimes threshed with a flail but a more efficient method was to scrape the grains from the cob by rubbing the ear across the edge of a spade. Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers, II. 1807, 25–26.

plements, was still used to some extent in reaping wheat; for cutting other grains and grass, the scythe and cradle were used.[1]

For the all-important business of ploughing the farmer was but poorly equipped. Flint has given us a description of two of the types of ploughs most frequently used at this time. He says: "The Carey plough had a clumsy wrought-iron share, a land-side and standard made of wood, a wooden mould-board, often plated over in a rough manner with pieces of old saw-plates, tin or sheet-iron. The handles were upright, and were held by two pins; a powerful man was required to hold it, and double the strength of team now commonly used in doing the same kind of work. The 'bar-side plough' or the 'bull plough' was also used to some extent. A flat bar formed the land-side, and a big clump of iron, shaped a little like the half of a lance head, served as a point, into the upper part of which a kind of coulter was fastened. The mould-board was wooden and fitted to the irons in the most bungling manner. The action might be illustrated by holding a sharp-pointed shovel back up, and thrusting it through the ground."[2] With such unwieldly instruments, two men or a man and a boy, using three horses or two or three yoke of oxen, could turn over in a superficial manner the soil of one or two acres in a day.[3] Some attempts had been made to improve this implement; a cast-iron plough had been invented in 1797 in which the mold-board and land-side were cast in one piece,[4] but the mass of the farmers were ignorant of these improvements. The iron plough was even opposed because of the fear that it would poison the earth.

Harrows were used to further pulverize the soil. These had at times iron, but probably more usually wooden teeth. Of the latter Deane says: " . . . they are of so little advantage to the land, unless it be merely for covering seeds, that they may be considered as unfit to be used at all. The treading of the cattle that draw them, will harden the soil more, perhaps, than these harrows will soften it."[5] All the transportation of crops, manure, timber and

[1] The inefficiency of these tools appears in the following figures: Using a sickle, a man could cut one acre of wheat in a day; with a cradle he could cut four acres of oats or barley, and with a scythe, one acre of green grass. Deane, New England Farmer, p. 380.

[2] Eighty Years' Progress, pp. 27–28. See also American Husbandry, I. 81–82.

[3] American Museum, V. 379–380.

[4] By Charles Newbold, of New Jersey. See Carver, T. N., Historical Sketch of American Agriculture in Bailey's Cyclopedia of American Agriculture. IV. 56.

[5] New England Farmer. (2 ed.) p. 142.

stone was done, except when there was snow on the ground, by means of ox-carts, ponderous two-wheeled vehicles, constructed almost entirely of wood. The carriage of goods for any distance was, if possible, postponed until winter when sledges or sleighs could be used.

The Yield per Acre of Various Crops.

The best method of determining just how inefficient was the practice of husbandry outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, would seem to be an examination of the yield of the various crops cultivated. There are, of course, no government reports going back to those early days[1] nor are there any other official publications covering this period. There exists, however, a considerable mass of information on this point scattered through the various gazetteers and statistical accounts of towns and in the writings of travelers. This material refers to conditions in various parts of southern New England, in general between the years 1790–1810. The following figures have been compiled from a digest of such scattered information, making allowance for exceptional conditions in certain localities which would cause variations from the normal figures. Indian corn produced on an average 25 to 30 bushels per acre. Occasionally crops of as high as 40 or 50 bushels were recorded, in the Connecticut Valley, and, on the other hand, on sandy soil such as that of Cape Cod and of Nantucket the yield fell to 12 bushels per acre or less. Rye was considerably less prolific, averaging about 15 bushels per acre. This crop was curiously uniform over the entire area, hardly any cases being found where crops larger than this were harvested, and only occasionally did the yield fall to 12 or 10 bushels. Potatoes are credited with 100 to 150 bushels per acre, a figure which compares very favorably with those of the latest censuses,[2] but this is probably due to inaccuracy at the earlier date in estimating the crop, since, as we have seen, potatoes were rarely grown by themselves in fields of any considerable size. Barley produced about 20 bushels to the acre, and buckwheat from 15 to 20 bushels. The yield of wheat, in the limited areas in which it was cultivated, was miserably low, hardly ever rising above 15 bushels to the acre, and averaging between 10 and 15.[3]

[1] The census of 1840 was the first in which agricultural statistics were collected.

[2] In 1909 the yield for New England averaged 176.9 bushels per acre; in 1899 it was 130.3. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Thirteenth Census. 1910. Abstract. p. 399.

[3] For the best collation of figures for crop yields in any single work see Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers, II. 1807, 14–19.

The Apple Orchard.

Apples were the standard fruit of New England. As we have seen, every farm had an orchard of several acres, containing a hundred or more trees.[1] The abundant yield of these trees seems to have been used principally for making cider, the favorite beverage of all classes and persons.[2] Some was exported to the Southern states, either in its natural form or after being distilled into cider brandy, but the bulk of the product was stored away in the farmers' cellars for their own consumption. Apples were also preserved by slicing and drying for winter use in the household. In especially fruitful years there was still a surplus, which was fed to the cattle and swine. Other orchard fruits of less importance were pears, peaches, plums, cherries and quinces. The orchards suffered much from the lack of care. After the original planting, practically nothing was done to preserve the trees or increase their yield except to allow cattle to pasture among them and, very rarely, to plough between the trees. The result of this neglect was becoming apparent at the beginning of the century. The first growth of orchards in many towns was dying out and often the trees were so infested with worms that the value of their fruit was largely destroyed.[3]

The Management of Woodland.

Every farm had also its woodland, occupying perhaps one-third of its total area, and every farmer was to some extent a lumberman and forester. The importance of wood in the farm economy we have already noted. Houses and barns, tools and vehicles, furniture and utensils, were constructed of this material to a much greater

[1] In the advertisements of farms for sale in the newspapers of the day great stress was laid on the capacity of the orchards as cider producers. For instance, a farm of 270 acres in Coventry, Connecticut, had an orchard capable of producing 60–100 barrels of cider annually. Windham Herald, January 11, 1811.

[2] As an instance of the popularity of this beverage Miss Earle relates that cider, diluted with water, was drunk by children when milk was scarce. It was also supplied in large amounts to college students. Home Life in Colonial Days. New York. 1898. pp. 148–149, 161–162. Charles Francis Adams writes: "Later, (*i.e.*, after the early years of colonial life) cider seems to have supplanted beer as the every-day and all-day beverage, and the quantity of it drunk by all classes down to a late period in this century was almost incredible. In the cellars of the more well-to-do houses a barrel of cider was always on tap, and pitchers of it were brought up at every meal, and in the morning and evening." Episodes. II. 686.

[3] Travelers commented on the poor condition of the orchards throughout southern New England. See Harriott, Struggles through Life, II. 34–35; Kendall, Travels, III. 35; Brissot de Warville, New Travels, p. 132.

extent than now. Besides this, the consumption of wood for fuel was enormous. The open fire-places demanded constant replenishing during the winter months and consequently the wood-pile formed an imposing eminence behind every farmhouse. In their wholesale and seemingly reckless destruction of timber in clearing the land, the settlers seem not to have anticipated the subsequent importance of this material to them.[1] As a result of their improvidence there seems to have been in 1810 little first-growth timber standing, except in the more lately settled counties of western Massachusetts and Connecticut.[2] And even in the management of such woodland as they had, the farmers of this period followed a bad system. The policy was to cut off close a certain tract every year, depending on the natural growth to replace it after a term of years. The better method, that of selecting certain trees over the whole extent of the woodland to be cut every year, was discarded because of the larger amount of labor which would have been necessary in gathering the wood. Ignorance of the better policy may also have been responsible.[3] The scarcity of wood,[4] which was inevitable, had begun to be felt, especially in the matter of fuel. In regions of naturally sparse forestation, as on Cape Cod, fire-wood was imported and experiments were being made with the use of peat as fuel.[5]

[1] The author of American Husbandry severely condemned this waste and seems to have anticipated to some extent the modern conservation movement in advocating legislative restraint. Op. cit., I. 84. See also Whitney, History of the County of Worcester, p. 249; and Belknap, History of New Hampshire, III. 26.

[2] Dickinson, Geographical and Statistical View, p. 9, describes the forests still existing in Massachusetts, ca. 1810.

[3] There seems to have been little agreement as to the time required for reforestation. See Dwight, Travels, I. 80; and Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers, II. 1807, 47.

[4] In a number of works this is given as the reason for the substitution of stone walls for rail fences. See Statistical Account of Litchfield, p. 92; Goodrich, Statistical Account of Ridgefield, p. 8.

[5] Joseph Felt wrote in 1834: "The first settlers thought no more of burning twenty or thirty cords of wood annually than we do of burning five. . . . Peat began to be used in some families about fifty years since . . . . It was made into coal sixty years past and used on the forges of blacksmiths." History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton. pp. 25–26. In his Observations on the Agriculture of the United States, William Strickland wrote that timber and wood had doubled in price in every part of New England within ten years. Strickland was an Englishman who spent a few months in this country as an agent of the British Board of Agriculture. He seems to have been diligent in his collection of facts, although his generalizations are colored by prejudice to some extent. The result of his work, a seventy-four page pamphlet, was published in London in 1801.

Meadows and Pastureland.

The New England region was by nature better fitted for grazing and pasturage than for agriculture in the strict sense of the word. Its soil, although of a good quality, was thin and the fields were much encumbered by stones and boulders, varying in size from small pebbles to huge rocks and ledges.[1] Hence the farmer's meadows and pasture lands tended to assume more importance than his tilled fields. The natural grass, which sprang up and grew abundantly as soon as the land was cleared, was of excellent quality.[2] On the uplands it furnished good pasturage and from the meadows, which were almost always watered by a small stream, fair crops of hay could be secured with the labor only of harvesting. Grass was also cut on the tilled lands in the years in which they were lying fallow. Occasionally these fields were seeded down with clover or with timothy, sown in with a previous grain crop. This occurred only at long intervals, however, and the seed used was not only full of impurities but was insufficient in quantity.[3] For the most part, in the intervals between its years of tillage the land was left to "seed itself." Just at the end of the period under consideration the sowing of clover seems to have spread quite rapidly. Livingston, writing in 1813, says: "The introduction of clover, . . . has within the last 10 years made a very sensible improvement in the agriculture of the country . . . . Indeed it is only within the last twenty years that any grass seed has been sown; and it will be no exaggeration to say, that more clover seed has been put in, within the last eight years, than has ever been sown since the country was inhabited."[4]

The pasturage furnished subsistence for the farmer's cattle, sheep,

[1] President Butterfield of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, has written: "It is sometimes asserted that the soil of New England is a drawback. On the contrary it is an asset. True there are many square miles . . . . consisting of ledges, others almost plastered with boulders; but wherever there is clear soil it is good soil—the very best." Art. N. E. Agriculture. In New England—What It Is and What It Is To Be. (George French, ed.) Boston. 1911. p. 115.

[2] Dwight wrote: "Grass is undoubtedly the most valuable object of culture in New England." Travels, I. 22. The excellence of the natural grass was commented upon in American Husbandry, I. 57. It was this grass which was later introduced into England, receiving the name timothy. After its re-introduction into New England it was known as English grass or spear grass.

[3] Clover was sown at the rate of about six pounds to the acre; of grass seed six quarts were used on the same area. Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers, II. 1807, 29.

[4] American Agriculture, p. 335.

and horses during the summer months;[1] the hay, supplemented to some extent with corn stalks, rye and wheat straw, and potatoes, supplied their winter fodder. Grain was rarely fed, except to hard-worked horses, or to beef cattle which were being fattened for slaughtering. A typical inland farm of 100 acres was able to support in this manner 10 or 15 cows, including young stock, one or two yoke of oxen, one or two horses, a flock of from 10 to 20 sheep and about as many swine as cows.[2]

The Native Cattle.

The beef cattle were the descendants of the Devonshire breed originally imported by the earliest settlers, but had received considerable intermixture from the Danish breed imported into New Hampshire and probably also from the Holstein breed brought by the Dutch colonists to New York. These influences, as well as lack of sufficient winter fodder and inattention to selection in breeding, had developed in New England a breed known as "the native cattle," more remarkable for their hardiness than for the production of beef or dairy products. In a few sections, however, such as in the towns of the Connecticut Valley and along the shores of Narragansett Bay,[3] where the pasturage was especially rich and a market for salted beef could be reached, some improvement in the breed was remarked.[4] The dairy products from the farmer's cows were an

[1] The most reliable writers tell us that cattle were "housed" from the beginning or the middle of November until the middle or latter part of May. The neglect of live stock in this regard, about which travelers had complained at an earlier period (see La Rochefoucauld, I. 495–496; 513), seems to have been caused not by pure inhumanity but by reluctance, perhaps inability, to invest capital in barns and sheds.

[2] These figures are taken from the answers received by the Massachusetts Agricultural Society in reply to their questions of 1806. Papers, II. 1807, 35. They agree in general with those given by Livingston, American Agriculture, p. 335. Occasionally advertisements of farms for sale in the columns of the country weekly newspapers yield information on this point. In Mansfield, Connecticut, the live stock on a farm offered for sale consisted of 10 cows, one yoke of oxen, six three-year-old steers, four two-year-old steers, two horses, 20 sheep and four hogs. Windham Herald, April 10, 1806. A Windham farm had two oxen, two two-year-old steers, five cows, five yearlings, five calves, 16 sheep and two horses. Ibid. November 3, 1808.

[3] Morse considered the cattle in the latter region the finest in New England. They would weigh, he thought, from 1,600 to 1,800 lbs. Gazetteer, 1810, art. Rhode Island.

[4] An improvement in the breeding of cattle was one of the primary objects of the Berkshire Agricultural Society, established by Elkanah Watson in Pittsfield in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, in 1810.

important article of his diet. In cheese, moreover, an article was found for which the demand in the Southern states and in the West Indies was considerable. Cheese had also enough value in proportion to its weight to bear the expense of transportation by land for some distance. A few towns in Litchfield and Berkshire Counties, on the western edge of New England, and a few others in Rhode Island along Narragansett Bay, and in Windham County in Connecticut, exported large quantities of cheese and grew prosperous in consequence.[1]

Oxen and Horses.

The cattle not only supplied the farm with beef and dairy products but also furnished a part of its labor force. Oxen were from the beginning the favorite, and, in fact for many years, the only draft animal on New England farms. Although horses were steadily coming into more general use, they did not seriously compete with the slower-moving steers for general farm work for many years after 1810.[2] In 1784 there were about 45,500 horses in Massachusetts and over 162,500 oxen and draft cattle.[3] In 1792 in New Hampshire the proportion of horses to neat cattle was only one in twenty.[4] By 1812 this ratio had increased to about one in seven.[5] In spite of their slowness of gait the oxen had certain advantages which justified the farmers in their use. These are succinctly set forth by President Dwight as follows: "The advantages of employing oxen are, that they will endure more fatigue, draw more steadily, and surely; are purchased for a smaller price; are kept at less expense;

[1] The town of Goshen, in Litchfield County, was noted for its cheese. Dwight wrote of this town: "It is, perhaps, the best grazing ground in the state; and the inhabitants are probably more wealthy than any other collection of farmers in New England, equally numerous. The quantity of cheese made by them annually, is estimated at four hundred thousand pounds weight. Butter also is made in great quantities." Travels, II. 355. Pease and Niles give the amount exported from this town in 1819 as 380,266 lbs. Gazetteer, p. 248. A neighboring town, marketed 100 tons of cheese in 1811, besides 6 tons of butter. Morris, Statistical Account of Litchfield, p. 122.

[2] One writer puts the date of the beginning of such competition as late as 1870. See Marquis, J. C. An Economic History of Agriculture in New England since 1840. Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University for the degree of Master of Science in Agriculture. 1909. Ms. p. 148.

[3] These figures are given in the American Museum, VII. 54.

[4] Belknap, History of New Hampshire, III. 144.

[5] Merrill, Eliphalet and Phinehas, Gazetteer of the State of New Hampshire. Exeter, N. H., 1817, p. 16. The figures are 32,000 and 211,500, respectively.

are freer from disease; suffer less from labouring on rough grounds; and perform the labour better; and, when by age or accident they become unfit for labour, they are converted into beef. The only advantage of employing horses instead of oxen, is derived from their speed."[1]

The use of horses for travel and light transportation increased rapidly with the introduction of wagons and the building of turnpike roads in the first decade of the new century, the oxen being still retained for the heavier tasks of ploughing and of hauling crops, stone and timber.[2] In fact, as Livingston points out, the typical horse of New England, the Narragansett, was much too high spirited and lightly built for farm work.[3] The horses, which were largely raised either by the farmer himself or in the vicinity,[4] had suffered the same degenerating tendency as the cattle. Dickinson wrote: "Our horses are mostly of an inferior kind. Little attention has been paid to them, and it is believed that they have rather declined within fifteen or twenty years. When one casts his eye upon the saddle horses of Virginia, or upon the draft horses of Pennsylvania, he must be strongly impressed with the great improvement of which our comparatively diminutive breed of horses is susceptible."[5]

Swine were kept on every farm, furnishing the salt-pork which was a staple article of diet. They required but little attention; in the fall they were ringed through the nose as a precaution against rooting, and turned out into the stubble fields, as gleaners after the harvest. In the winter they were fed on anything which happened to be superfluous, hay, chestnuts, apples, potatoes, dairy and kitchen

[1] Statistical Account of New Haven, p. 22. See also American Museum, II. 85; VIII. 24–25. Tudor believed thoroughly in the superior efficiency of oxen. He wrote: "An advantage to the farmer, individually, and a very important benefit in its general results, is owing to the use of oxen, instead of horses, in almost all agricultural labour." Letters on the Eastern States, p. 241.

[2] Horses and oxen had in earlier years often been used together as the following quotation shows: "Our teams used for transportation and the several branches of husbandry have been generally composed of oxen and horses together and our vehicles for carriage have been carts and sleds, but within a few years past waggons drawn by horses have greatly multiplied and the cart harrow and plow are more frequently drawn by oxen alone." Goodrich, Statistical Account of Ridgefield, p. 8.

[3] American Agriculture, p. 336.

[4] Breeding horses and mules for the West India market had become an industry of some importance in a few towns. Advertisements of stallions and Spanish jacks at stud were frequent in the newspapers in Worcester and Windham counties.

[5] Geographical and Statistical View, pp. 11–12.

refuse. For a few months before slaughtering they were fed on Indian corn. They thrived under this treatment and seem to have been the most successfully developed animals on the farm. Harriott wrote of the swine which he saw in Rhode Island: "Hogs they have as good and as large as can be bred in any part of the globe."[1] In the Newport market he observed several weighing about 600 lbs. each, and on inquiry was informed that such weight was not unusual. The average size in other regions was, however, probably considerably under this figure.[2]

Sheep of the Common Breed.

The flock of 20 or 25 sheep regularly found on every farm was a characteristic feature of the self-sufficient agriculture. So vitally important were they as the source of supply of wool[3] that in spite of the constant discouragements of colonial days,[4] the sheep had increased steadily in numbers in proportion to the growth of population. No feature of the farm economy shows more clearly than the management of sheep the neglect and want of progress which the lack of a market brought about; and on the other hand, no department of the agricultural industry responded more promptly in improvement when once the market was supplied. Up to 1800 no attempts had been made to improve the breed of sheep. They had, probably, in common with the cows and horses, degenerated since their introduction by the first settlers. They were long-legged, narrow in the breast and back, and slow in arriving at maturity. When fully grown, they yielded only 40 or 45 pounds of mutton, and about three or three and one-half pounds of coarse wool at each shearing.[5]

[1] Struggles through Life. II. 39.

[2] In the papers of the Mass. Agric. Soc., II. 1807, 38–39, the weights given are from 250 to 400 lbs. See also Belknap, History of New Hampshire, III. 245.

[3] The value of the sheep as meat producers seems to have been quite subsidiary. This was due in large part to a prejudice among the farmers against mutton as an article of diet. See U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Special Report on the History and Present Condition of the Sheep Industry of the United States. Prepared under the direction of Dr. D. E. Salmon. Washington. 1892. 52 Cong. 2 Sess. Misc. Doc. No. 105, p. 74.

[4] Among these discouragements were the ravages of wolves and later of dogs. It was the desire to escape the former danger which first led to the pasturage of sheep on the islands in Boston Harbor and later on the larger islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. The flocks on these islands had in 1810 increased to very considerable size (supra p. 290 and note), furnishing a surplus of wool for export. See Wright, C. W., Wool Growing and the Tariff. Harvard University Economic Studies. Vol. V. Cambridge. 1910. pp. 2 ff.

[5] See Sheep Industry in U. S., p. 51; Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers, II. 1807, 38.

The Importations of Merino Sheep.

Between 1800 and 1815, a noteworthy effort was made to improve the native stock by the importation of rams and ewes from Spain. The Spanish Merino sheep had long been famous for the weight and excellent quality of their wool, but on account of rigid exportation restrictions it had been practically impossible to bring representatives of the stock to this country. These restrictions were broken down about the year 1800, during the disorganization of the government of Spain following the Napoleonic invasion. Advantage of this state of affairs was taken by our ambassadors in Spain and France, Col. David Humphreys and Robert Livingston, as well as by certain other Americans who were abroad at that time. They secured a few of these valuable animals, which they shipped back to America. The only importations of importance into New England before 1809 were the flock of 70 ewes and 21 rams sent by Col. Humphreys in 1802.[1] Although from the very first there was no doubt of the great improvement which the mixture of the Spanish with the native breed produced upon the latter,[2] yet the ordinary farmer was slow in benefiting thereby. In the first place, the knowledge of the importations spread slowly, and then the prices at which the Merinos sold were so exorbitant,[3] that few even of the most prosperous of gentlemen-farmers could afford to experiment with them. In general we may say that it was the lack of a commercial stimulus which retarded progress along this line, as well as along all others. The native breed, poor as they were, supplied enough wool and mutton for the farmer's own family.[4] The demand for wool in the domestic

[1] Sheep Industry in U. S., p. 136.

[2] The Massachusetts Agricultural Society printed in its Papers for 1807 two enthusiastic letters from Colonel Humphreys stating that the Merinos, both of pure and mixed blood, were hardier, better adapted to the climate of New England, and more easily nourished than the common or native breed. In addition they produced more and better wool and attained a larger size and greater weight. pp. 59–63.

[3] Humphreys did not sell any until 1805; then he sold some at prices ranging from $1,000 to $1,500 apiece. Livingston sold his rams at $150 apiece. Sheep Industry in U. S., pp. 140, 167.

[4] Livingston describes the position of sheep in American agriculture as follows: "Sheep have heretofore not been kept in any great numbers. They never made an object in American husbandry. Every farmer kept a few to run over his stubble, and pick up the hay that the horses and cattle wasted. There being no regular demand for wool, no more sheep were kept than supplied the farmer's family with what was necessary for their domestic manufacture of stockings, mittens, petticoats, coverlids, and coarse cloth for servants and children . . . ." American Agriculture, p. 336.

industries was, it is true, steadily increasing, but it had not become strong enough to induce a systematic attempt to improve the breed. It was not until the newly established woolen factories[1] had grown to be large consumers of wool that the New England farmers felt the impetus to increased production.

The attempts to improve the breed of sheep by the importation of the Merinos is a typical illustration of a larger movement towards the betterment of the agricultural industry as a whole, which began to make progress in the closing years of the eighteenth century. The impetus came from the patriotic impulses of men of education and of public affairs, who had come to learn of the "new husbandry" of Tull, Bakewell, and Young, which had created such a stir in England. Some of them had by personal observation been impressed with the contrast presented by the results of the improved system beside the wasteful and inefficient methods with which they were familiar at home.[2] Others, like Washington, had learned of the English improvements at second-hand but had increased their knowledge by active correspondence with the leaders of the movement on the other side.[3] The Revolution itself had its part in furthering this new movement. Not only did it arouse a new patriotism, but, in conventions as well as on the field, it brought together and made acquainted the leading men from the various states. When, after these exciting days were over, they had retired to their homes, they turned their energies to the improvement of agriculture.

The Agricultural Societies—Character of their Work.

In order to make their efforts more effective, these pioneers in agricultural improvement formed associations or agricultural societies, modeled in general upon those which had been organized abroad.[4]

[1] For a discussion of the number and size of these factories established before 1810, see supra pp. 273-274.

[2] Such pioneers in the movement for agricultural improvement as Samuel Adams, David Humphreys, Elkanah Watson, as well as Jefferson and Livingston, had all had opportunities to observe the English and European methods in the years between the Revolution and 1810.

[3] Washington corresponded with Arthur Young, William Strickland, with James Anderson, the Scottish economist and agriculturist, and with Sir John Sinclair, the first president of the British Board of Agriculture. The latter wrote numerous letters to such prominent men as James Madison, John Jay, Gouverneur Morris and James Monroe, which, it must be confessed, were on the whole neglectfully answered. See Sinclair's Correspondence. 2 vols. London. 1831, passim.

[4] The predominance of foreign influences in the establishment of these societies is clearly apparent. In the preface to the Memoirs of the Philadelphia society

The nature of these societies and of the work they proposed to carry on is clearly revealed in the prefaces of their articles of association. They were not intended to be clubs of practical working farmers who might aid each other by the exchange of facts and ideas from experience, but rather groups of men of all professions who were to receive, adapt, and disseminate the knowledge of the progress accomplished in other countries. So the preface to the Laws and Regulations of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture[1] reads: "One great object of this Society will be, to obtain and publish an account of the improvements of other countries, and to procure models of the machines in which they excel. It will attend to whatever relates to rural affairs, and especially to promote an increase of the products of our lands, ... To encourage the utmost attention to these objects, the Society will, from time to time, offer such premiums as their funds will admit. They consider agriculture in all its various branches and connexions as highly interesting to all mankind. The wealth and importance of the community, is so intimately connected with, and dependent on the extent and success of agriculture, that every one who is desirous of advancing the happiness, prosperity, and dignity of his country, its commerce, and convenient subsistence of individuals, will lend his aid to this most useful institution."[2] The appeal of the society organized in Philadelphia in 1785 is equally broad.[3]

These appeals were answered in the spirit in which they were

references are continually made to the superior agriculture of Europe and to the necessity of adopting and adapting its methods. "As other countries receive the benefits of our labours, in the products supplied to them, ... it is fit that we should profit by their experience in the arts of cultivation . . . ." p. viii. This society acknowledged its indebtedness to prominent European agriculturists by electing them to honorary membership. Arthur Young, William Bakewell, and Count Castiglioni, of Milan, were so honored.

[1] Organized 1792.

[2] Published in Boston, 1793. Agric. Repository, Vol I., pp. iii–iv.

[3] Here we read: "THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING AGRICULTURE, was formed . . . . , by some citizens, only a few of whom were actually engaged in husbandry, but who were convinced of its necessity; and of the assistance which such an association, properly attended to, would afford to the interests of agriculture. . . . Many citizens have a mistaken idea, that their not being *agriculturists*, disqualifies them from becoming useful members of our Society . . . . The interests of *Commerce*, *Arts*, and *Manufactures*, form, with *Agriculture*, an indissoluble union; to which citizens of every class and calling, have it amply in their power to contribute." Memoirs, Vol. I. pp. ii, iv (note).

issued. An examination of the early membership of these societies shows that they were composed of men in whose lives agriculture was only one of many interests, and often the least important of all. There were in the Massachusetts society men of legal education, who had become prominent in political life, such as Samuel Adams, James Sullivan, then attorney-general of the state and later governor, General Joseph Lincoln, then Collector of the port of Boston, Christopher Gore, John Lowell and Jonathan Mason, all lawyers and active in politics and government. Besides these there were merchants, such as Stephen Higginson, Charles Vaughan and Azor Orne. We find also representatives of the other two professions, ministers and doctors, who, blessed with an outlook on the affairs of the community beyond their immediate duties, turned their attention to improvements in agriculture.[1] The interest of such men as these in agriculture, although no doubt genuine, was nevertheless far different in nature and in intensity from that of the inland farmer who was toiling day in and day out on his 100 acres, endeavoring to make a living for himself and his family. The contrast in point of view which must have existed between the "literary" and the practical agriculturists is evident from such a statement as that of General Warren, in the American Museum. He gives his reasons for being interested in agriculture in the following words: "Agriculture has long been a favourite object with me. In a philosophic view, it is great and extensive; in a political view, it is important, and perhaps the only firm and stable foundation of greatness. As a profession, it strengthens the mind, without enervating the body. In morals, it tends to increase virtue, without introducing vice. In religion, it naturally inspires piety, devotion, and a dependence on providence, without a tincture of infidelity. It is a rational and agreeable amusement to a man of leisure, and a boundless source of contemplation and activity to the industrious."[2]

The influence of these societies on the progress of agriculture in this period, on the methods employed by the farmers in rural com-

[1] Such were the Rev. Manasseh Cutler and Cotton Tufts, the physician. The Philadelphia society included such famous persons as John Dickinson, the president of the state, Tench Coxe, merchant and publicist, and Hugh Brackenridge, lawyer and editor. It is interesting to note in this connection that the two most important treatises on agriculture published before 1800 in New England were the work of clergymen, Rev. Jared Eliot, of Killingworth, Connecticut, and Rev. Samuel Deane, of Portland, Maine. See Appendix C.

[2] Op. cit., II. 344.

munities, was so slight as to be practically negligible. They were "a voice crying in the wilderness," forerunners of improvements comparable to those which had already taken place abroad. But for reasons which we shall presently set forth, the time was not ripe for the acceptance of their doctrines and propaganda. Their principal service was in preparing the way for future progress.[1]

The Contemporary Criticisms were Deserved.

Reviewing for a moment the evidence presented in the foregoing paragraphs, we can see clearly that the criticisms of New England agriculture at the beginning of the nineteenth century were fully deserved. The tillage of the fields was but a superficial scratching of the surface soil with clumsy tools; very little care was taken to preserve or increase the fertility of the soil by crop rotation or even by the simple and obvious method of applying manures; because of the neglect of root crops, the fodder for live stock was insufficient; the lack of nourishment, coupled with imperfect shelter and inattention to the principles of selection in breeding, had caused a general degeneration in practically all kinds of domestic animals. The same lack of intelligent effort, seen in the neglect of the productivity of his land and stock, is evident in the farmer's management of his orchards and woodlands. In general, the system of agriculture was not only extensive but even in many respects predatory; the farmers had little stimulus to get anything beyond a living, and in getting that they had little regard for the effects which their system of husbandry might have on the prosperity of future proprietors of their land.

[1] There were perhaps a dozen of these societies organized, principally in cities on the eastern seaboard, before 1800. Among this number were those organized in Charleston, S. C., in 1784; in Philadelphia, in 1785; in New York, 1791; and in Boston, 1792. Besides these there were a few smaller societies such as the Western Society of Middlesex Husbandmen, 1794; the Kennebec Agricultural Society, 1800; and the New Haven County (Conn.) Agricultural Society, 1803. In the smaller societies the practical farmers seem to have formed a large, perhaps a predominant element, but the initiative and direction came from men whose interest in agriculture was but subsidiary to other interests. See Carver, Historical Account, p. 56; and Butterfield, K. L., Art. Farmers' Social Organizations, in Bailey's Cyclopedia of American Agriculture, IV. 290–291. The manuscript Proceedings of the New Haven society are preserved in the library of Yale University. The transactions of some of the larger societies, such as those in Philadelphia and Boston, were published, along with various contributed articles. These publications are more valuable for the light they shed on the state of scientific knowledge of agriculture than for information on the current practices of farmers.

But the Explanation Given was not Sufficient.

The reasons for the foregoing state of affairs generally given by contemporary and later writers on the subject may be grouped under three chief heads: (1) the ignorance of the farmers of what we now recognize as the fundamental principles of scientific agriculture; (2) the conservatism which bound them down to traditional methods; (3) the cheapness of land and the consequent high price of labor. All of these conditions undoubtedly existed and each contributed in its own way to prevent progress, yet none of them, it seems to me, would alone, or in combination with the others, have been able to prevent progress in agriculture if it had not been for the presence of another and more decisive condition, the lack of a market.

Inefficiency of Agriculture was not Due to Ignorance.

The typical inland farmer was undoubtedly ignorant of the best methods of tillage and of fertilization, and of the fact of increased productivity which the application of these methods would bring. But this was not a necessary or an inevitable state of affairs. The knowledge of the improvements which had been accomplished abroad was accessible in this country. Beginning with the publication of the first of the Reverend Jared Eliot's Essays on Field Husbandry in New England, in 1749,[1] an unwearying attempt had been made by men of education to bring to the attention of farmers in the Eastern states, and particularly in New England, the importance of changing their methods. The result had been the publication of a respectable body of literature on the subject, including at least sixteen works[2] of a general nature, in which the contrast between the methods employed at home and abroad were pointed out, the improvements introduced by Tull, Bakewell and Young were outlined and discussed in simple language, and suggestions were made for adapting their discoveries to the conditions prevailing here. Besides these there were published a considerably larger number of pamphlets, dealing with special branches of the agricultural industry, such as the use of gypsum as a fertilizer, the advantages of rotation of crops, the breeding of sheep and the management of bees. The agricultural societies were spreading similar information through their published reports, and such periodicals as The Old Farmer's Almanack

[1] These essays, six in all, appeared separately in the years 1749–1759, and were in 1760 published in collected form.

[2] About half of these were published before 1800. For a partial list of titles of the general and special works on agriculture published in this country before 1815, see Appendix C.

and the American Museum[1] were helping along the cause of education by repeated admonitions, "in season and out of season."

Little could have been expected in the way of results from this propaganda, if the farmers had not been fitted by nature or training to receive it. But it seems evident that the New England farmers were both intelligent and educated enough to see the advantages of the new husbandry and to apply its methods. It is universally recognized that the general level of education was at this time higher in New England than in any other part of the country. Common schools, at which attendance was compulsory, were found in every town[2] almost as soon as it was settled. The terms in these schools were, it is true, short, and the teachers often inefficient, but even if the bulk of the pupils never progressed beyond the rudiments, still the training was universal and furnished a valuable working equipment.[3] There is also evidence at hand that the farmers showed a disposition to utilize and improve their knowledge by reading. "Social libraries" were found even at this early date in many of the older towns and parishes,[4] and newspapers, both those which were published in the inland towns themselves and those from the commercial towns,[5] were read everywhere with avidity. So widespread

[1] The American Museum appeared monthly in the years 1787–1792. It was published in Philadelphia but seems to have had many readers and contributors in New England. The Old Farmer's Almanack was established by Isaiah Thomas in Worcester in 1793 and has appeared annually since that date.

[2] An exception should be made for certain towns in Rhode Island. In that state the law requiring the establishment and maintenance of such schools had been repealed a few years before 1810. See Morse, Gazetteer, 1810, art. R. I.

[3] No doubt the value of the education received in these schools has been overrated along with other features of "the good old days," especially in comparison with the training given to children in modern schools. Here we are concerned with its absolute rather than with its relative value. See Adams, C. F., Episodes, II. 781.

[4] In Pease and Niles' Gazetteer of Connecticut and Rhode Island the social library is almost as regularly mentioned in the descriptions of the various towns as are the saw-mills or the ministers and doctors.

[5] As early as 1790, there were 37 periodicals published in New England, of which three appeared semi-weekly, 32 weekly, and two monthly. U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census. A Century of Population Growth. Washington. 1909. pp. 32–34. A few years later, according to Dwight, Travels, IV. 344–345, the total had grown to 55. Before 1800 newspapers had been established in such inland towns as Worcester, Pittsfield, Stockbridge, Greenfield, Northampton and Brookfield, in Massachusetts; in Litchfield, Windham and Danbury, in Connecticut; in Brattleboro and Rutland, in Vermont; and in Hanover, Keene, Concord, Amherst, Walpole, and Gilmanton, in New Hampshire. See U. S. Library of Congress. Check List of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers. Washington. 1912.

was this habit that not only did travelers comment upon it,[1] but the conservative Dwight was moved to remark: "The reading of newspapers in this country is undoubtedly excessive, as is also the number of such papers annually published."[2] The same author however, recognized clearly the advantages of education in general on the productive capacity of the community, setting them forth as follows: "A New Englander imbibes, from this education, an universal habit of combining the objects of thought, and comparing them in such a manner as to generalize his views with no small degree of that readiness and skill, which in many countries are considered as peculiar to a scientifical education. Hence he often discerns means of business and profit, which elsewhere are chiefly concealed from men of the same class. Hence, when prevented from pursuing one kind of business, or unfortunate in it, he easily, and in very many instances successfully, commences another. Hence he avails himself of occurrences, which are unregarded by most other men. . . . . Universally our people are, by this degree of education, fitted to make the best of their circumstances, both at home and abroad; to find subsistence where others would fail of it; to advance in their property, and their influence where others would stand still; and to extricate themselves from difficulties where others would despond."[3]

As an instance of the effects of this universal education in quickening intelligence, Dwight cites one of those "many original machines for abridging human labour, and improving its results," the stocking-loom. He might have cited the machine for cutting and heading nails and tacks,[4] the system of interchangeable parts in the manu-

[1] Foreigners traveling in this country remarked upon the wide circulation of newspapers. Lambert while on a journey from Boston to Walpole, in New Hampshire, noticed that the stage-coach driver distributed these papers along the route, remarking: "There is scarcely a poor owner of a miserable log hut, who lives on the border of a stage road, but has a newspaper left at his door." Travels, II. 498–499. Rochefoucauld had written somewhat earlier of Massachusetts: "Not a house is to be found in the most remote corners of the country, where a newspaper is not read; and there are few townships that do not possess little libraries formed and supported by subscription." Travels, II. 215.

[2] Travels, IV. 344, note.

[3] Ibid., IV. 348–349. For a detailed description and discussion of educational facilities provided in New England see Ibid., pp. 282–298.

[4] A patent for such a machine was issued to one Jesse Reed of Boston, 1807. See Bishop, History of American Manufactures, II. 125–126. A similar machine was invented by Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, Mass., about 1790. See Swank, J. M. The Manufacture of Iron in New England. In the New England States, I. 374.

facture of muskets, perfected by Eli Whitney in New Haven,[1] and improvements in a number of other lines of manufacture, such as the making of tin plate in Meriden, in Connecticut, and the manufacture of wooden clocks in Waterbury, all of which displayed the ingenuity of his countrymen along mechanical lines. Why was it that this spirit of progress and invention, this capacity to work out new ideas and to apply the ideas of others did not display itself in agriculture? Certainly there was a large field for improvement there. The answer is simple. The application of genius and energy along mechanical lines was profitable, because a market could be found for the improved and increased product; a market for increased agricultural produce was not at hand, therefore progress along that line was not remunerative.

Conservatism.

Conservatism has always been acknowledged as a characteristic quality of any agricultural population, especially in countries where the land is held in small tracts in fee simple and cultivated by the owners. New experiments are always made reluctantly; with limited resources the failure of a single crop may bring disaster. The New England farmers were undoubtedly conservative,[2] but it seems illogical to select this quality of their minds as a determining factor in the explanation of the lack of agricultural progress. For if conservatism had been so important it would have affected not only the inland farmers but also those of the coast regions. The latter had behind them the same ancestry and the same traditions, the conditions of land tenure were the same; but yet, as we have seen, they did not hesitate to make new ventures, to invest labor and capital in their farms, to modify their practices in any way that seemed to offer more profit.

Land was Cheap and Labor Dear—Washington's Explanation.

The third argument, that concerning the relative prices of land and labor, deserves more serious consideration. It is given most prominence by those writers who were intelligently seeking an economic explanation of the phenomena they observed. So Washington wrote: "An English farmer must entertain a contemptible opinion

[1] See Dwight, Statistical Account of New Haven, pp. 38–39.

[2] General Warren wrote: "Our farmers have all along followed the practice of their fathers, which might be adopted, at first, from necessity, and is pursued from want of spirit to adopt a better and more rational system by those who are convinced of the absurdity of it." American Museum, II. 346.

of our husbandry, or a horrid idea of our lands, when he shall be informed that not more than eight or ten bushels is the yield of an acre: but this low produce may be ascribed, ... to a cause which I do not find touched by either of the gentlemen whose letters are sent to you, namely that the aim of the farmers in this country (if they can be called farmers) is, not to make the most from the land, which is or has been cheap, but the most of the labour, which is dear: the consequence of which has been, much ground has been *scratched* over, and none cultivated or improved as it ought to have been; whereas a farmer in England, where land is dear and labour cheap, finds it his interest to improve and cultivate highly that he may reap large crops from a small quantity of land."[1]

Livingston wrote in much the same strain. Speaking of the disparagements cast upon the agriculture of this country by foreigners, he says: "To this we must add an erroneous idea, that most strangers entertain of the perfection of agriculture: they presume, that it consists in obtaining the greatest quantity of produce from a given quantity of land; and when they find that the arable yield of our fields is less than that of their native country, they at once pronounce us miserable farmers; not considering, that agriculture is good, or bad, in proportion to the return which it makes for the capital employed, and that the capital consists not of land only, but of stock, land, and labour. In countries in which a great population causes land to be dear, and labour cheap, the farmer expends much labour on little land, and renders that extremely productive, and the reverse where land is cheap, and labour dear. . . . . Considered in this view, we are much inclined to think, that the agriculture of the United States is at least equal to that of Europe; . . . ."[2]

The Effect of Cheap Land—The Frontier.

In an examination of the influence of the relative values of land and labor on agricultural methods and progress, it seems to me that

[1] This letter of Dec. 5, 1791, addressed to Arthur Young, is quoted by Blodget, Samuel, Junior. Economica: A Statistical Manual for the United States of America. Washington. 1806, p. 91. It is not, however, found in either Sparks' or Ford's editions of Washington's works. It was supposed to have accompanied a description of agriculture in the United States, which, in response to Young's request, Washington had compiled from queries addressed to prominent men in various states.

[2] American Agriculture, pp. 332–333. In a later passage, p. 341, the writer admits that such a system may be disastrous for the community, even if it be justified from the point of view of the individual's interest.

attention should be concentrated on the causal factor, the cheapness of land. The high price of labor may have affected the calculations and management of the farmers in the few favored regions, such as the towns in the neighborhood of Boston, but it is difficult to see how this condition could have had any significance for the farmers in inland towns. To farmers who never hired any labor, what difference could it make whether the price of labor was high or low? For the ordinary operations of farm life, directed only to supply a single family with the necessaries of life, the labor force of that family was sufficient. To spend any amount, however small, in hiring labor to raise a surplus of crops or live stock for which no market could be found would have been economic folly.

The cheapness of land, on the other hand, was a matter of vital importance. In a new country where land is cheap we naturally expect to find an extensive system of agriculture. When, however, a country, or a section of it, becomes fully settled, as New England was in 1810, an increase in population demands an increase in the supply of foodstuffs. Under an extensive or a predatory system of cultivation, a stage of diminishing returns is soon reached at which this increased supply can be obtained only at a more than proportional expense of labor and capital. Two courses are then open to the farmers. Either they must send the surplus of their population to new lands in another section of the country, or, if such lands are unavailable, they must if possible amend their methods, introduce improvements and so postpone the stage of diminishing returns. At any rate, an increased product must be forthcoming; either emigration will ensue or a more intensive system of cultivation must be adopted. Now it was the presence of large tracts of uncleared land, of as great if not of greater fertility than that which the farmers of inland towns were then cultivating, to be had almost for the asking, which persuaded them to choose the former of these alternatives.

Emigration.

Emigration began from the older towns before 1750, first to the as yet unsettled counties in the northern and western sections of Massachusetts, and after the Revolution to the states of northern New England.[1] Thus the annual surplus of population was drained off and the remainder managed to get a living without introducing new methods of agriculture. Tudor describes this process and its

[1] For a fuller consideration of the amount and direction of emigration in this period, see Appendix B, pp. 383 ff.

results as follows: "The spirit of emigration, acting with full force on an enterprising people, easily induced them to go to new states in pursuit of the real or delusive advantages that were held out to them. This constant draining from our population, while it afforded a hardy, vigorous race for the cultivation of new territories; may have produced a greater increase to the ultimate good and power of the nation, than would have happened if these emigrants had remained stationary; still it occasioned some local disadvantages. In the first place it prevented the inhabitants from thinking of any improvement; if their farm was not sufficiently productive, the easy remedy to a restless people was to sell it, collect their effects and go five or fifteen hundred miles (the distance, greater or less, was not thought of) in pursuit of a richer soil. It was not by the employment of greater skill, but by a change in location, that they sought to improve their condition."[1]

The Real Cause of Inefficient Agriculture was the Lack of a Market for Farm Products.

The ignorance and the conservatism of the farmers were undoubtedly to some extent hindrances to agricultural progress; cheap land on the frontier discouraged intensive cultivation at home; but these circumstances do not, either alone or in combination, furnish a sufficient explanation for the state of the industry which prevailed. In the background lay a condition of much more significance, because of its determining force upon all the others. I refer to the lack of a market for agricultural products. Once given a market, neither ignorance of the improved methods of agriculture nor the reluctance to experiment along new lines, proceeding from a conservative disposition, nor the cheapness of land, inviting extensive cultivation, could long have stood in the way of progress. If the farmers of the inland towns had had an opportunity to exchange for the products of the outside world their grain, meat and dairy products, they would have seized upon every scrap of information regarding the means by which their fields and live stock could be made more productive; their adherence to traditional methods would have been weakened, and they would have applied to the conduct of agriculture the same adventurous and ingenious spirit which they displayed in the field of mechanical invention and in that of commercial enterprise. Labor might still have been expensive, yet they would have employed others to work for them. The expense of labor was at this time a hin-

[1] Letters on the Eastern States, pp. 234–235.

drance to the growth of manufactures, also, but when the market was opened through the failure of European competition, during the period of the Embargoes and the War of 1812, manufacturers found it profitable to employ workers even at the high wages demanded.

In fact we have repeatedly noted in the preceding sections of this chapter that wherever a body of farmers were so situated as to be able to reach a market, whether in the commercial towns of the seacoast or in the West Indies, there these obstacles to progress had already, to some extent, been overcome. Dickinson recognized this fact when he wrote: "Our farmers prefer exerting their labor upon a large field, to employing the same on a small one. Deviating, however, from this rule, in the vicinity of populous towns, and on navigable waters, where the price of land enters more highly into the farming capital, they have paid more attention to husbandry, and increased their produce by additional expenditures of labor."[1] Had this author carried his analysis only one step farther and asked himself the question, "Why is the price of land higher in the vicinity of populous towns and on navigable waters?" the answer would have given him a much more fundamental reason for the improvements which he observed. It was the presence of a market, an opportunity to sell produce, which increased the competition for these lands, which made the farmer willing to pay highly for the opportunity of entering that market.

On the other hand, all other stimuli to agricultural improvement were futile as long as the market was lacking. We have seen that the campaign of education of the latter part of the eighteenth century was without results. It is difficult to see how a cheaper labor force could have produced any different results. The revolution in agriculture, as well as the breaking down of the self-sufficient village life, awaited the growth of a non-agricultural population. Between the years 1810 and 1860 such a population arose in the manufacturing cities and towns of New England, and the market thus created brought changes which opened up a new era to the farmers in the inland towns.

[1] Geographical and Statistical View, p. 8.

CHAPTER VI.

Home and Community Life in the Inland Town.

At the conclusion of the survey of economic conditions in southern New England in 1810 which occupied the first four chapters of this essay, we ventured the statement that the most important circumstance determining the life of the inhabitants of inland towns was the lack of a market. In the preceding chapter the assertion has been partially justified by an examination of the effect of this circumstance, this commercial isolation of the inland town, on the agricultural industry carried on by its inhabitants. It remains for this chapter to consider to what extent the peculiar characteristics of home and community life in these towns were also dependent on the same cause. The best place to look for the influence of a market, or the effects of a lack of it, is in the everyday life of the farmer himself. If our reasoning up to the present has been accurate, we should expect to find him unable to sell more than a trifling amount, if any, of the produce of his land, and consequently unable to purchase goods to any considerable extent from the outside world. He and his family must have constituted very nearly an economic microcosm, a self-sufficient household economy, supplying their wants almost entirely by their own labor, except for occasional neighborly coöperation, and relying hardly at all on the exchange of products or services with outside communities.

The Self-sufficiency of New England Farms.

The facts, as far as they can be learned, give ample support to this deduction. It would naturally be expected that, given the soil and climate of New England which lend themselves to the cultivation of a variety of food products, the farmer would be able to provision his family from his own land, but the extent of this self-sufficiency is somewhat surprising. Dwight tells us[1] that flesh and fish were the principal food of the inhabitants of New England. A more concrete description of their fare is that given by Felt: "For more than a century and a half (*i.e.*, up until almost 1800) the most

[1] Travels, IV. 341.

of them had pea and bean porridge, or broth, made of the liquor of boiled salt meat and pork, and mixed with meal, and sometimes hasty pudding and milk—both morning and evening."[1] Except for the salted cod which made a favorite Saturday dinner for families a considerable distance inland, the use of fish was probably confined to the seacoast regions and to towns along the rivers where fishing was regularly carried on,[2] as a by-industry of agriculture. Beef, pork, and mutton were all supplied from the farmer's own flocks and herds. He was often his own butcher, although at times he called upon some neighbor for this service. Owing to the lack of facilities for refrigeration most of the meat was dried, salted or pickled,[3] operations performed by the women of the household. They also supplied the table with butter and cheese, and tried out the lard used in cooking.

The common bread of the country people was made of a mixture of Indian corn meal and rye flour ("rye and Injun"), ground at the local grist-mill from the farmer's own grains. Wheat bread was in common use only in the seaports, whither the grain was brought[4] from the Southern and Middle states, and in the region west of the Connecticut River, where the soil was best suited to the cultivation of this grain.[5] Fruits and vegetables grew everywhere in as great a variety and abundance as the farmer could find time to plant and cultivate. The orchards were especially important for their supplies of cider, the favorite drink of the country population.

Not only these staples of diet, but even some of the condiments which made them palatable were supplied from the farm. The business of making sugar and syrup from the sap of maple trees was a regular department of the routine operations of inland farms.

[1] History of Ipswich, p. 30.

[2] Supra Chapter II.

[3] A somewhat irregular supply of fresh meat was obtained by the practice of slaughtering an animal in alternation with one's neighbors and distributing parts of the carcass to the several families. A quarter of beef or mutton, or a side of pork could be consumed by a single family before it spoiled, whereas a large part of the meat would have been wasted, if not preserved in some way, had it all remained in one household. This practice still obtains in country districts. It is one of the few surviving remnants of the various forms of coöperation which were necessary in those days.

[4] Supra p. 303, note 5.

[5] Warden, D. B. Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States of North America. 3 vols. Edinburgh. 1819. Vol. I., p. 329, estimates that corn and rye bread was eaten by four-fifths of the inhabitants of Massachusetts. See also Dwight, Travels, I. 340.

The season, as marked off in the annual editions of the Old Farmer's Almanack,[1] was from the end of February until the beginning of April, a period when other outdoor operations were at a standstill. The apparatus required was simple and inexpensive, consisting merely of wooden troughs and buckets and iron kettles. The farmer and his sons collected the sap and the women of the family attended to the process of boiling or "sugaring-off," as it was called. With an average product of five pounds of sugar from each maple tree[2] it was not difficult to obtain in this way the whole annual supply of a family. Although generally of a poorer quality than the cane sugar from the West Indies which was used in the coast towns, yet when sufficient care was taken, a fine-grained, clear product could be obtained.[3] Another substitute for the cane sugar was the honey obtained from the hives of bees which were considered an important adjunct of every well-managed farm.[4] Although a single hive would yield from 30 to 40 pounds of honey, besides five or six pounds of wax, yet this was a much less important product than the maple sugar, principally because of the amount of attention which the bees required in the early summer, when the farmer was most busy with other operations.[5]

The articles of diet which the farmers used and which they could not produce were salt, tea and coffee, molasses and rum. The first of these was, of course, absolutely necessary, and consequently it formed one of the most important articles in internal trade. Molasses was another substitute for sugar, and the rum which was distilled from it either in New England or in the West Indies, was a beverage rivaling cider in its popularity. It was a favorite tavern tipple and in some of the more accessible towns it was supplied to farm laborers in the hay-fields.[6] Tea and coffee seem to have been coming into general use throughout New England at this time. Dwight says:

[1] Kittredge, The Old Farmer and his Almanack, pp. 121–123.

[2] Coxe, View, pp. 681–682. Coxe believed thoroughly in the importance of the maple sugar industry and in the possibility of obtaining the whole domestic supply from this source. Dwight claims to have known a single tree to yield fourteen pounds of sugar in a season. Of the quality of the product he says: "I have seen the grain of this sugar as large and fine as that of the best Muscovado." Travels, I. pp. 15–16.

[3] Belknap, History of New Hampshire, III. 113–116, gives a detailed description of the process of making maple sugar as observed in New Hampshire.

[4] See Notes on Farming, p. 38.

[5] Mass. Agric. Soc. Papers, II., 1807, 40–41.

[6] See advertisement in the Windham (Conn.) Herald, June 3, 1806.

"Tea and coffee constitute a part of the breakfast and supper of every class, and of almost every individual."[1] Coxe, speaking of the whole country, said that teas were consumed freely by rich and poor, and adds that in 1790 they formed one-seventh of the total imports.[2] In Barnstable County, Massachusetts, where the fisher-farmers were able to purchase more from the outside than the inland folk, the plentiful consumption of this stimulant was thought to be the cause of the prevalence of nervous complaints.[3] The difficulty with which tea and coffee were obtained by the inland farmer is shown by the list of substitutes to which resort was occasionally had. For tea, raspberry and blackberry leaves were used and instead of coffee, parched rye and chestnuts, and even potatoes roasted and ground to a powder.[4]

Clothing—The Age of Homespun.

In the matter of clothing the farm was quite as self-sufficient as in diet. The Age of Homespun[5] is a title which has been very appropriately applied to this period, recognizing as it does the predominant importance of the domestic textile industries. All the evidence available tends toward the conclusion that the inhabitants of the rural towns, both men and women, were clothed in fabrics spun and woven in their own homes from the wool and flax grown on their own flocks and in their own fields. Statesmen such as Hamilton and Gallatin early recognized the extent of this branch of domestic industry. The former wrote in 1791: "Great quantities of coarse cloths, coatings, serges, and flannels, linsey woolseys, hosiery of

[1] Travels, IV. 342. Both of these beverages were, however, of recent introduction. Felt tells us that the colonists in Ipswich were unfamiliar with the proper method of brewing tea until about 1760. Coffee had been used somewhat, but only by the wealthier families, before the Revolution. History of Ipswich, p. 28.

[2] View of the U. S., p. 117.

[3] See Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I. 3: 13.

[4] See Earle, Home Life, pp. 158–159; and Kittredge, The Old Farmer and His Almanack, p. 185. These substitutes must have been nearly as unsatisfactory as the bark of the prickly ash tree, which Belknap says was used by the back-country people of New Hampshire instead of pepper. History of New Hampshire, III. 125.

[5] This is the title of an address delivered by the Rev. Horace Bushnell at the Centennial Celebration of Litchfield County, Conn., in 1851. It is contained in a volume of his collected works entitled Work and Play. New York. 1864. pp. 368–402. In his address the author says much that is thoughtful and significant concerning the effects of the self-sufficient family economy on the formation of individual character and on the social life of the village communities.

wool, cotton, and thread, coarse fustians, jeans, and muslins, checked and striped cotton and linen goods, bed ticks, coverlets and counterpanes, tow linens, coarse shirtings, sheetings, towelling and table linen, and various mixtures of woolen and cotton, and of cotton and flax, are made in the household way, and, in many instances, to an extent not only sufficient for the supply of the families in which they are made, but for sale, and even, in some cases, for exportation.[1] It is computed in some districts that two-thirds, three-fourths, and even four-fifths, of all the clothing of the inhabitants, are made by themselves."[2] Twenty years later Gallatin wrote: "But by far the greater part of the goods made of those materials (cotton, flax, and wool) are manufactured in private families, mostly for their own use, and partly for sale. They consist principally of coarse cloth, flannel, cotton stuffs and stripes of every description, linen, and mixtures of wool with flax or cotton. The information received from every State and from more than sixty different places, concurs in establishing the fact of an extraordinary increase, during the last two years, and in rendering it probable that about two-thirds of the clothing, including hosiery, and of the house and table linen, worn and used by the inhabitants of the United States, who do not reside in cities, is the product of family manufactures."[3]

More significant than these statements, however, because applying specifically to New England, are those to be found in the gazetteers of the time. Pease and Niles say of Connecticut: "The domestic manufactures in this State are extensive and important, and consist of woolen, linen, and cotton; but the former is by far the most important. With the exception of the cities, almost every family manufactures the substantial woolen fabrics, for their own consumption."[4] Of the same state Morse says: "The farmers in

[1] In Gallatin's Report on Manufactures (1810), the textile manufactures of families in New Hampshire are estimated to average from 100 to 600 yards in a year. Of their sale we read: "Considerable quantities of coarse flaxen cloth, worth from 15 to 20 cents a yard, thus manufactured in families, are sold to traders in the country villages or in towns, and sent for a market to the Southern States, on which a profit is made by the trader." In American State Papers, Finance, II. 435. We find occasional references to the purchase of homespun cloth by the country stores in the advertisements of such newspapers as the Windham (Conn.) Herald. There is not sufficient evidence of this sort, however, to lead to the conclusion that this manufacture of cloth for export by farmers' families was uniformly found in inland towns.

[2] Report on Manufactures, 1791. In American State Papers, Finance, I. 132.

[3] Report on Manufactures, 1810. In American State Papers, Finance, II. 427.

[4] Gazetteer, p. 17.

Connecticut, and their families, are mostly clothed in plain, decent, homespun cloth. Their linens and woolens, are manufactured in the family way; . . . ."[1] In the statistical descriptions of various towns we find such statements as this: "The people generally manufacture their woolen and linnen cloaths in their own families, using all of their wool and most of their flax."[2] If we could have examined the wardrobes of the men and women of the rural towns piece by piece, we should have found everything of household manufacture,[3] with the exception of the few bits of Sunday finery, hard earned and long-treasured, such as a beaver hat, shoe-buckles, or a fancy waistcoat, a silk gown and a few ribbons.

The best description of the dress of the country folk at the beginning of the last century, which I have been able to find, is that contained in a manuscript prepared by Governor Treadwell of Connecticut, in the year 1802 or 1803. The governor lived in Farmington, a town ten miles west of Hartford on the Farmington River. The conditions of dress and life which he describes are of the period 1760–1770. He remarks that between that time and 1800 a considerable change had taken place, owing to the increasing commerce between the town and the outside world, via Hartford and the Connecticut River. Such a change had, however, not yet taken place in towns less favorably situated, and for them the conditions described still obtained. In fact, the homespun garb prevailed in some districts for several decades after 1800. Rev. Horace Bushnell said in 1851 to the people of Litchfield County, Connecticut: "You have remembered the wheel and the loom. You have recalled the fact that our Litchfield County people, down to a period comparatively recent, have been a people clad in homespun fabrics—not wholly, or in all cases, but so generally that the exceptions may be fairly disregarded."[4]

Governor Treadwell wrote as follows: "Our ancestors here, of both sexes, have, till of late, clad themselves in simple apparel, suited to their moderate circumstances and agricultural state. The

[1] Gazetteer, 1810, art. Connecticut.

[2] Goodrich, Rev. Samuel. A Statistical Account of Ridgefield in the County of Fairfield (Conn). MS. in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society Hartford, Conn., p. 5. The date is uncertain. The manuscript was deposited in the library in 1800; internal evidence indicates that it was written a few years earlier.

[3] Women's hats were at times of household manufacture. See Gallatin, Report on Manufactures, p. 439. Also Earle, Home Life, pp. 259–261.

[4] Age of Homespun, p. 372.

men have been content with two suits of clothes, called the every-day clothes, and the Sabbath-day clothes. The former were usually of two sorts, those for labour, and those for common society. Those for labour in the summer were a check homespun linen shirt, a pair of plain tow-cloth trowsers, and a vest generally much worn, formerly with, but more modernly without sleeves; or simply a brown tow-cloth frock and trowsers, and sometimes a pair of old shoes tied with leather strings, and a felt hat, or an old beaver hat stiffened and worn white with age. For the winter season they wore a check blue and white woolen shirt, a pair of buck-skin breeches, a pair of white, or if of the best kind, deep blue home-made woolen stockings, and a pair of double soled cowhide shoes, blacked on the flesh side, tied with leather strings; and, to secure the feet and legs against snow, a pair of leggins, which, for the most part, were a pair of worn out stockings, with the bottom and toe of the foot cut off, drawn over the stocking and shoe, and tied fast to the heel and over the vamp of the shoe; or if of the best kind, they were knit on purpose of white yarn, and they answered for boots on all occasions; an old plain cloth vest with sleeves, lined with a cloth called drugget: an old plain cloth great coat, commonly brown, wrapped around the body, and tied with a list or belt: or as a substitute for them, a buck-skin leather waistcoat and a leather apron of tanned sheep-skin fastened round the waist, and the top of it supported with a loop about the neck, and a hat as above, or a woolen cap drawn over the ears.

"For ordinary society in summer, they were clad in a check linen homespun shirt and trowsers, or linen breeches, white homespun linen stockings, and cowhide single soled shoes, a vest with sleeves usually of plain brown cloth, a handkerchief around the neck, a check cap, and a hat in part worn.

"In winter they were clad as above described for summer except that they assumed, if they had it, a better great coat, a neckcloth and a hat that might be considered as second best. Their Sabbath-day suit for winter, was like that last mentioned, except that their stockings were commonly deep blue, their leather breeches were clean and of a buff colour, they added a straight-bodied plain coat and a white holland cap, and sometimes a wig with a clean beaver hat. For the summer it was a check holland shirt, brown linen breeches and stockings, single soled cow hide shoes with buckles, a plain cloth and sometimes a broadcloth and velvet vest, without sleeves: the shirt-sleeves tied above the elbows with arm strings of ferreting of various colours,

a white holland cap or wig, and beaver hat: and on Thanksgiving days, and other high occasions, a white holland shirt and cambric neckcloth.

"The women have been, till within about thirty years past, clothed altogether in the same style, with a moderate allowance for the taste of sex. A minute description will not be attempted; a few particulars will characterize the whole. They wore home-made drugget, crape, plain cloth and camblet gowns in the winter, and the exterior of their under dress was a garment lined and quilted, extending from the waist to the feet. Their shoes were high-heeled, made of tanned calf-skin, and in some instances of cloth. In the summer they wore striped linen and calico gowns, cloth shoes and linen underdress: and every young lady when she had attained her stature, was furnished with a silk gown and skirt if her parents were able, or she could purchase them by dint of labour. Their head dress has always occupied a great share of their attention while in youth; it has always been varying, and every mode seems, in its day, the most becoming. Within the period just mentioned, the elderly women have worn check holland aprons to meeting on the Sabbath, and those of early life, and of the best fashion, were accustomed to wear them in their formal visits."[1]

The Organization of the Household Industries.

The production in the household of woolen and linen, and to some extent also cotton fabrics, not only clothing but also the necessary house furnishings, such as sheeting, toweling, blankets, and table linen, and even such coarse fabrics as rag carpets and grain bags, was a well-organized industry. The various successive stages in the conversion of the raw materials into the finished product were regularly assigned to members of the family according to their strength and skill. Thus the men sheared and washed the wool, and performed most of the laborious processes of breaking, swingling and hackling the flax to prepare the fiber for spinning. The carding of the wool, corresponding in a way to these processes, was for years the task assigned to the older members of the family whose strength and eyesight would have been unequal to more onerous and careful work. About the year 1800, however, the household was relieved of this task by the introduction of the water-power carding machines, which, as we have seen, spread so rapidly that they were to be found in almost every village in 1810.[2] The younger women of the family

[1] Printed in Noah Porter's Historical Discourse. Appendix, Note S, pp. 82–83.

[2] Supra p. 260.

spun the fibers thus prepared into yarn and thread on the large and small wheels then found in every farmhouse. Bleaching and dyeing were also a part of the multifarious activities of these women. In the latter process almost all the materials used, such as pokeberries, madder, goldenrod, the bark of the hickory, butternut and sassafras trees, and various flowers, could be found in the woods and fields. For producing the deep blue which was so popular, indigo must be imported, and this was one of the few standard commodities sold at the stores and by itinerant peddlers.

Weaving, the next stage in the production of homespun cloth, was not so uniformly performed in every household. Looms were, however, to be found in every house of considerable size, and many houses had a room, or an ell, especially devoted to these ponderous and noisy machines. Gallatin wrote in 1810: "Every farmer's house is provided with one or more wheels, according to the number of females. Every second house, at least has a loom for weaving linen, cotton, and coarse woolen cloths, which is almost wholly done by women."[1] It is probable that a considerable share of this work was taken over by men, some of whom may have carried it on as a regular trade.[2] There were often many smaller looms in the house

[1] Report on Manufactures. 1810. p. 435. The note from which this quotation is taken refers to household manufactures in New Hampshire. It is interesting to compare in this regard the figures given by a writer in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, II. 7: 70, for Hillsborough County, New Hampshire. He found 5,490 looms, in a population of 49,282 (about 9,000 families) in 1810. According to Coxe, Digest of Manufactures, 1812, p. 667, in the back-country of Pennsylvania there was in one county, McKean, only one loom among a population of 142 persons. In three other counties the proportion was one to every 20 or 30 of population. The spinning wheels were much more numerous, averaging about one to a family.

[2] Miss Earle says, Home Life, pp. 212–213: "Every farmer's daughter knew how to weave as well as to spin, yet it was not recognized as wholly woman's work as was spinning; for there was a trade of hand-weaving for men, to which they were apprenticed. Every town had professional weavers. They were a universally respected class, and became the ancestors of many of the wealthiest and most influential citizens today. They took in yarn and thread to weave on their looms at their own homes at so much a yard; wove their own yarn into stuffs to sell; had apprentices to their trade; and also went out working by the day at their neighbors' houses, sometimes carrying their looms many miles with them." Miss Earle cites no authorities; the lists of tradesmen given in the statistical accounts of various towns in Connecticut make no mention of weavers, and the only confirmation I have been able to find of her statement is an entry in the account book of Rev. Medad Rogers of New Fairfield, Conn., of money paid out for weaving. See infra, pp. 366-367.

on which the women made garters, points, glove-ties, hair-laces, stay-laces, shoe-strings, hat-bands, belts and breeches-suspenders, often called "galluses."[1] The production of these odds and ends of apparel shows in a striking manner the extent to which the household was self-sufficient in its supply of clothing. Knitting was an important branch of the domestic textile industry, producing the hosiery, mittens, shawls, comforters, etc., for all the family. It must be remembered that the foregoing discussion applies only to the conditions prevailing in inland towns. In the seaports and larger river towns, the inhabitants had long used clothing and household furniture of foreign manufacture.

The Building and Furnishing of Farmhouses.

In the furnishings of their homes, the inland farmers relied to a very limited extent on exchange with the world outside their immediate vicinity, and in fact supplied their wants, as in the matter of food and clothing, largely by the exertions of their own families. In the construction of their houses, those story-and-a-half structures with long sloping roofs which one may still occasionally see in the more isolated country regions, they utilized the timber growing in the vicinity, often on their own land, and employed as workmen those of their neighbors who carried on the carpenter's trade as a by-industry of farming.[2] Only a small amount of hardware was used and most of this, such as bolts and hinges, was made by the local blacksmith. The nails, which were used much more sparingly than now, were often made by the farmers themselves from nail rods purchased either from the local store or from a nearby slitting-mill.[3] Glass, which had

[1] Earle, Op. cit., p. 225. A detailed description of the technical processes of hand-weaving as carried on in those days is contained in Chapter X of that work, pp. 212–251. Other chapters which have been consulted are Chapters VIII and IX, pp. 167–211, describing the cultivation and preparation of the flax and woolen fibers.

[2] Supra p. 262 ff. The task of raising the heavy beams which constituted the frame of the structure into position was accomplished by the united efforts of a large number of neighbors. This is another example of the coöperation of inland farmers for the accomplishment of a task now undertaken by specialized workmen, and, like the husking-bee, was utilized as an occasion for social intercourse and amusement.

[3] Supra p. 270. Coxe says: "Nailmaking is frequently a household business in New England, a small anvil being found no inconvenience in the corner of a farmer's chimney." View of the United States, p. 269. In another place he estimates the quantity of nails used by an average household in building and repairing at ten pounds per annum. Ibid. p. 144.

probably in all except the newest settlements replaced the wooden shutters and oiled paper of earlier times, was practically the only material brought from any distance. The furniture, such as bedsteads, chairs, settles, and tables, could easily be produced by the local cabinet-maker, or even by a skilful carpenter. Besides making the homespun sheets and blankets, quilts and comforters, the women of the family made mattresses and pillows stuffed with the feathers of home-raised geese.[1] An inventory of table-ware and kitchen utensils brings to light only a few "boughten" articles and these were carefully treasured and handed down from parents to children. Wood was the material most used, in fact wherever possible; of it were made trenchers, drinking-cups and tankards, and even spoons. Pewter was also used for these articles to some extent; but china, porcelain, glass or silverware were rarely seen. In the kitchen, wooden and earthenware vessels predominated, pots of iron, brass or copper being comparatively rare.[2]

In his Statistical Account of Middlesex County (Conn.), Field states that not only clothing and furniture but also agricultural implements were, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, made by the farmers for themselves.[3] Wood was here again the principal material employed. The tools used by a farmer in Concord, New Hampshire, are thus described: "His plows were mainly of wood, the soles and coulters only being of iron, though the mould-boards were usually plated with sheets of that metal.

"The village blacksmith made his nails, his axes, his chains, as also his clumsy pitchforks, and flat-tined manure forks. . . . His

[1] Woman's work, it would seem, was truly endless at this time. Besides the tasks already enumerated, and such by-industries as the making of soap and candles, they often had the care of poultry or bees, milked cows and did light outdoor work, such as weeding gardens and gathering fruit and vegetables. Combined with the bearing and rearing of large families of children, these unremitting labors shortened the duration of life of the sex very considerably. In frontier settlements extreme illustrations of this fact, were found, such as that cited by Kendall, Travels, III. 130. Near Bath, Maine, he saw a burying-ground in which were the graves of ten married women, eight of whom had died between the ages of twenty-two and thirty years. The "consumption" to which he attributes their early deaths, was, if it existed, no doubt brought on by overwork.

[2] See Earle, Home Life, Chs. III. and IV. Bishop, American Manufactures, I. 488, remarks upon the scarcity of iron utensils at this time. Iron pots, not generally more than one or two, were considered sufficiently valuable to be included in the inventories of estates.

[3] Op. cit., p. 17.

carts and sleds were generally constructed on the farm and ironed by the blacksmith, the wheels of the former having felloes three inches wide, tired with short strips of flat iron. . . . His shovels were mainly of wood, having blades pointed with iron. His harrows, made often of a forked tree, had teeth sometimes of wood and sometimes of iron."[1]

The Versatility and Ingenuity of Yankee Farmers.

Besides these standard by-industries of the farmer, there were a diversity of other tasks to which he applied himself more or less regularly according to his especial "bent" and opportunities. On the seacoast, as we have seen, he was frequently a sailor or a fisherman for part of the year.[2] In inland towns he often plied some trade or other and was classed as an artisan as well as a farmer. Every farmer did a multitude of odd jobs for himself, such as repairing old buildings and building new, laying walls and stoning up wells, butchering pigs and cattle, making axe-handles and brooms, splitting staves and shingles, tanning leather and cobbling shoes. Occasionally he performed some of these tasks for a neighbor, who either had not the requisite skill or was too busy with strictly agricultural operations. Such service was probably more often repaid in kind than in currency. In this way the Yankee farmer acquired a reputation for ingenuity and a moderate ability in a variety of occupations, which has now become proverbial.[3] His ability as a Jack-of-all-trades was not due to any exceptional endowment of versatility. It was distinctly a product of the economic environment and of the persistent endeavors

[1] Walker, J. B. The Farm of the First Minister. Reprinted from Report of New Hampshire State Board of Agriculture, 1894. Concord, N. H., 1895, p. 18. The importance of wood in the economy of the inland farmer needs no emphasis. It was early recognized by Belknap who devotes a chapter, Ch.VIII., in the third volume of his History of New Hampshire, to an enumeration of the varieties of trees native in that state and discusses the peculiar uses of each.

[2] Chastellux says: "The seaman when on shore immediately applies himself to some handicraft occupation, or to husbandry, and is always ready at a moment's notice to accompany the captain his neighbor, who is likewise frequently a mechanic, to the fisheries." Travels, II. 250.

[3] This quality of ingenuity was recognized by Chancellor Livingston. He says of the farmer of the Northern states: "He can mend his plough, erect his walls, thrash his corn, handle his axe, his hoe, his sithe, his saw, break a colt, or drive a team, with equal address; being habituated from early life to rely on himself he acquires a skill in every branch of his profession, which is unknown in countries where labor is more subdivided." American Agriculture, p. 338.

of the New England farmer to adapt himself thereto.[1] The most significant because the most far-reaching feature of that environment was the lack of a market. The problem that confronted the farmer was to get a living for himself and his family, and to get as good a living as he could with the least expenditure of labor. If he had been able to devote all his attention to raising some particular product, with the proceeds of whose sale he could have purchased the services of specialized artisans and goods from abroad, he undoubtedly would have preferred to do so. It would have tremendously increased his efficiency in production, and would have lightened the labors of all the members of his family. But the lack of a market was an insuperable obstacle to specialization and consequently the family group was forced to rely upon itself and upon irregular exchange with other neighboring groups for the necessaries of existence, and to do without, in large measure, the comforts and luxuries.

Commodities Bought and Sold by a Minister-Farmer.

There is not sufficient evidence to warrant even an approximate numerical estimate of the amount of produce which the farmer did actually sell and of the commodities which he received in exchange. Occasionally, however, we come across an account book kept by an inhabitant of one of these inland towns, a farmer, a blacksmith, or a minister, which furnishes a concrete illustration of the small amount of buying and selling which took place. Such an account book is that of the Rev. Medad Rogers, the minister of New Fairfield, Connecticut, a small town on the western boundary of the state.[2] He had

[1] It may be objected that the tendency to invent is an instinctive activity; that there is, psychologically speaking, an "impulse to contrivance." If this is true, inventive ingenuity must be a general human endowment, not confined to any particular nation or race. But the degree of the manifestation of this "impulse," of its successful realization, its embodiment in practical appliances among any particular people at a given period in their history, must, it seems to me, be largely dependent on the conditions of their economic environment. In the inland towns of New England there was a far greater necessity for the development of this "impulse" than in other less self-sufficient communities. Where, on the small farm, a single family had to devise means to produce the most varied articles for its own consumption, there the opportunities for the application of inventiveness and ingenuity were most numerous, and the advantages to be gained from the use of such talents were most apparent. A consideration of economic and psychological aspects of inventiveness may be found in Professor Taussig's "Inventors and Moneymakers." New York. 1915. Chapter I.

[2] The population was 742 in 1810. The nearest outlet to a market was the Hudson River, from 20 to 25 miles distant.

the use of a farm of 100 acres and in addition a salary of $100, part of which was, as the accounts show, paid in kind. The accounts extend from 1784 to 1822, but the years in which they were most carefully kept are 1792 and 1793. In the one year and nine months from February 14, 1792, to November 13, 1793, his total purchases amounted to £23, 10 shillings and 11 pence. The items are as follows:

3 lbs. brown sugar	1 pair wool cards
10 lbs. iron	1 barlow penknife
1 iron pot	1 bbl. linseed oil and paints
1 iron skillet	1 set pencilled tea dishes and saucers
2 earthern basons	1 skein holland thread
2 chamber pots	½ bus. salt
1 earthern jug	2 lbs. ginger
1 small cream pot	1 lb. alum
3 milk pans	1 gal. um
1¼ yards satinet	1 gal. molasses
½ yard everlasting[1]	7 smoaking pipes
5 yards coating	1 yard tobacco

The entries of goods purchased in other years show the same predominance of necessary commodities which could not be produced on the farm. Chief among these were iron, of which in one year he bought 81 pounds besides a bundle of nail rods, and salt, with occassional purchases of molasses and rum. Other entries show purchases of 50 bricks, a pork barrel, six cider barrels, a broadcloth coat and a pair of shoes. The coat and the pencilled tea dishes were refinements of life which probably were considered necessary to the minister's social position and set him apart from the bulk of his parishioners.

The entries of sales are far less numerous. The chief items are dairy products. A rather astonishing sale of 451 pounds of cheese is among them. It went to the local storekeeper and was to be paid for half in cash and half in merchandise. All the other sales were small, such as two and one-half yards of tow cloth, seven pounds of flax, three pounds of butter, a hind quarter of beef and a barrel of cider.[2]

[1] A sort of cloth.

[2] The account book of the Rev. Mr. Rogers is preserved in the library of the New Haven County Historical Society, New Haven, Conn. A small pamphlet entitled Sundry Prices taken from Ye Account Book of Thomas Hazard, published at the Washington County (Rhode Island) Agricultural Fair Grounds, 1892, contains information of the same sort but for a somewhat earlier date. Hazard was a farmer of South Kingston, Rhode Island.

The Result of Self-sufficient Economy was a Low Standard of Living.

The effect of this self-sufficiency in family and in village life was a low degree of efficiency in the production of wealth in both these economic units. The lack of a market made specialization impossible, there was practically no well defined division of labor except that existing between the sexes. Hence the gains from the adaptation of individual talents to especial tasks, and from the acquisition of skill through continuous repetition of identical movements or processes were almost entirely absent. The farmer who must also be his own tool-maker, carpenter, wheelwright, mason and general handy man could not hope to acquire any great efficiency in agriculture. He had no time to devote to careful experiments in the culture of crops or the breeding of stock, or even to read the books in which the results of scientific investigation were even then recorded. On the other hand, the mason, carpenter, doctor or lawyer who had to interrupt the pursuit of his especial avocation in order to procure food and clothing for himself and his family by means of agriculture, could not hope to develop any great degree of efficiency as an artisan or as a professional man. The result was that the bulk of the population of New England was at this time on what we should now call a low standard of living, and even this standard was supported only by arduous and unremitting toil. One large-minded observer has said: "No mode of life was ever more expensive; it was life at the expense of labor too stringent to allow the highest culture and the most proper enjoyment. Even the dress of it was more expensive than we shall ever see again."[1] The raw materials for food, clothing and shelter were at hand in abundance, but in working up these materials into consumable commodities, the people of those days were at a very great disadvantage. Only when we compare the clumsy and ineffective apparatus with which they worked, such as the old-fashioned Dutch oven and the open fireplace, the spinning wheel and the handloom, with the modern cooking appliances and the power-driven spinning frames and looms, can we appreciate to some extent how "expensive" their life really was.

The Contrary Opinion Held by Travelers.

How, then, can we explain the general impression of comfort and ease in getting a living which seems to have been made upon contemporary observers? Numerous passages might be cited from the travelers who passed through New England from the close of the

[1] Bushnell, Horace. The Age of Homespun, p. 393.

Revolution up to 1810, praising the beauty and ease of the life of the rural population. A quotation from Dwight is typical. In a chapter on the Mode of Living of New Englanders, he says: "The means of comfortable living are in New England so abundant, and so easily obtained as to be within the reach of every man who has health, industry, common honesty, and common sense."[1] In another passage he uses such phrases as "comfortable subsistence," "universally easy circumstances," and "universal prosperity,"[2] in describing the life observed in his travels. Surely such expressions do not describe an especially arduous existence; far more do they remind us of the descriptions of that land flowing with milk and honey, the Promised Land of the ancient Hebrews. The apparent lack of agreement between such opinions and the conditions which we have described in this chapter may be explained by a number of considerations. In the first place, we must remember that the standards of measurement used by the writers of that time were not those of today. When they said that living in New England at that time was easy or comfortable, they did not mean absolutely so, but in comparison with conditions of life in some other country, or in New England at some former time. The conditions with which they were most familiar and which they undoubtedly used as a standard of comparison were those of frontier life in this country and of the common people of Europe in the eighteenth century.[3] Judged by either of these standards, life was easy and comfortable; judged by our standards, however, it was far different.

Then, again, we must take into account the fondness of all literary travelers, and President Dwight was no exception, for sweeping generalizations and large, well-sounding, mouth-filling phrases. For the economic historian a few bits of specific information are worth far more as evidence and should be given credence when they are in conflict with the former. Considerable of this specific evidence has been given in previous sections of this chapter.[4] Even if, however,

[1] Travels, IV. 341.

[2] Ibid., I. xv.

[3] As a matter of fact, we find these comparisons specifically made. See Dwight, Travels, II. 254, and American Husbandry, I. 70.

[4] See supra pp. 355–365. Such a seemingly unimportant point as the use or lack of shoes and stockings by country people has significance. There is abundant evidence that they did not feel they could afford these articles except as protection against the cold and for especial occasions, such as the Sunday religious services. See Wansey, Journal, p. 71; Harriott, Struggles through Life, II. 54; Larned, History of Windham, II. 388–389; New Hampshire Historical Society Collections. 10 vols. 1824–1893. Vol. V. (1837), pp. 226–227.

their generalizations were carefully drawn from all the evidence presented, we must inquire whether the conditions observed were typical of those prevailing over New England as a whole, or whether the observations were limited to some particularly favored regions. As a matter of fact, we know that but very few of the travelers through New England left the beaten track of the stage-coach routes from New York to Boston. They came up to New Haven along the shores of the Sound. There they had a choice of routes; they either continued along the shore to Newport and Providence, and thence across Bristol, Plymouth or Suffolk Counties to Boston, or branching off to the northeast to Hartford and then following the Connecticut Valley up to Springfield, they turned due east and reached Boston by way of Worcester. Except for the stretch between Springfield and Worcester, both of these routes passed through towns which were favored by exceptional opportunities for trade and often, as, for instance, the towns in the Connecticut Valley, by especially fertile soil as well. It is no wonder that travelers' conclusions, based on this sort of selected evidence, were so favorable.

Wealth was Equally Distributed.

Perhaps another explanation of the optimistic strain, so habitual in travelers' descriptions of economic conditions prevailing in New England at this time, is that they mistook equality in the distribution of wealth for ease in production. That the two ideas were closely connected in their minds is evident. Lambert, for instance, says of the inhabitants of the central part of Connecticut: "The generality of the people live in easy independent circumstances; and upon that footing of equality which is best calculated to promote virtue and happiness among society."[1] Of the inhabitants of Hampshire County, Massachusetts, Dwight says: "They are also, as a body, industrious and thriving, and possess that middle state of property, which so long, and so often, has been termed golden; . . . . Few are poor, and few are rich."[2] In another place the same author remarks: "Great wealth, that is, what Europeans consider as great wealth, is not often found in these countries. But poverty is almost unknown."[3]

[1] Travels, II. 304.
[2] Travels, II. 254.
[3] Ibid. I. xv.

Agriculture was not a Means of Making Money.

Equality in distribution would, under the circumstances, naturally be expected. The lack of a market meant production by each family or village unit simply for its own consumption. "The house was a factory on the farm, the farm a grower and producer for the house."[1] Except in especially favored regions, agriculture was not a commercial business; there was practically nothing raised for sale. Hence the opportunities for business profits, for the accumulation and investment of capital, all of which are necessary steps in the development of inequalities in wealth, were lacking.

The conditions of land tenure and the uniformity in the size of the farms are both proofs of this contention. It is well known that almost every farmer owned his own land, tenancy being found in only a few localities.[2] The farms varied in size from 80–100 to 250–300 acres, few having less than 100 acres and few more than 200.[3] Occasionally we find instances of families in the older inland towns distinguished from their neighbors by the possession of considerable estates in land,[4] enabling them to have more of the refinements and comforts of life and even some of its luxuries. Such instances, however, were exceptions to the general rule of plainness and frugality.

[1] Bushnell, The Age of Homespun, p. 392.

[2] Dwight found some tenancy on the Connecticut coast, east of New London. In Stonington, for instance, he found about half of the farms cultivated by tenants, who were, however, in that position only until they could obtain enough capital to purchase land for themselves. Travels, III. 16. See also Tudor, Letters from the Eastern States, p. 406.

The practice of holding land in common, at least pasture lands, which was often introduced at the settlement of a new town, seems to have died out in most localities before the Revolution. In Ridgefield, for instance, the common lands were divided in 1760. Goodrich, Statistical Account, p. 9. See also Doyle, J. A., English Colonies in America. 5 vols. New York. 1882–1907. Vol. V. p. 16. The practice seems to have survived longest, in the Island of Nantucket and in Plymouth and Barnstable Counties in Massachusetts. See Kendall, Travels, II. 208–210; also Adams, H. B., The Germanic Origin of New England Towns, Ch. II.; and Village Communities of Cape Anne and Salem, Chs. IX. and X.; both in Vol. I. of Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science.

[3] For a fuller discussion of this point and authorities see supra pp. 321–322.

[4] The author of American Husbandry writes, Vol. I. p. 62, as if the English system of cultivation by tenant farmers of land of large proprietors was not an uncommon thing in southern New England before the Revolution. Such a system may have prevailed occasionally in regions of active internal trade (as in Windham County, Conn., see Larned, History of Windham County, II. 270, and Kendall, Travels, I. 315), but there is no evidence that it existed throughout isolated rural communities.

Land was Cheap, Hence no Class of Wage-Earners.

And yet the acquisition of a moderate amount of land was not a matter of any great difficulty. Tudor writes: "Every industrious man may look forward with certainty to becoming proprietor in fee simple of a small farm."[1] This ease with which land could be acquired was one of the principal causes of the prevailing equality in the distribution of wealth, and in fact, with the lack of a market, was a factor determining the whole character of the economic life of the population of New England at this time. In the first place, it brought about that phenomenon of high wages which was so often commented upon by travelers and other observers, native and foreign.[2] It was naturally hard to persuade a young man to work for day-wages when he could so easily establish himself as an independent farmer. This fact, together with the lack of a market, effectually prevented the rise of a body of agricultural laborers. Even in regions where a market was accessible it was difficult, at what were then considered extravagant wages, to obtain a labor force for commercial farming.[3] In other districts there was little demand for such labor. The self-sufficient farm furnished its own labor force, the farmer and his sons being in most cases quite well able to raise the crops and to care for the live stock which provided food and clothing for the family.[4] It would indeed have been poor economy to hire laborers to raise a surplus which could not be sold. Exceptional tasks were accomplished by the voluntary coöperation of neighbors. Occasionally a farmer's son would hire out for a few years to a neighbor, but such service was always looked upon as temporary, as merely a means of accumulating sufficient capital to establish the young man as an independent farmer. And just as among the independent artisans in the country towns there was no regularly defined, per-

[1] Letters on the Eastern States, p. 405.

[2] These observations were in many cases concerned with the difficulty or impossibility of establishing manufactures in the colonies or, later, in the states. See Franklin, Benjamin. Canadian Pamphlet, in Works, Sparks edition, IV. 19, 40–41. Also American Husbandry, II. 257–267.

[3] Harriott, Struggles through Life, II. 193–194, tells of his unsuccessful efforts to get laborers to work on a farm on Long Island.

[4] Livingston, American Agriculture, p. 338, says: "Most of our farmers cultivate their farms with their own hands, aided by their sons when of proper age to be serviceable. Women labor in the harvest, and in haying, and in planting corn, before they are mothers, but seldom afterwards." See also Dickinson, Geographical and Statistical View, p. 8.

manent body of hired workmen, so also there was no class of agricultural laborers.[1]

Paupers—Cost of Poor Relief—Causes of Poverty.

These facts, showing the wide distribution of the ownership of land, and the resulting lack of a permanent labor class, lend support to the general statements of contemporary writers concerning the equality in the distribution of wealth. They would seem, also, to lead naturally to the inference that there could have been little if any extreme poverty and little need for poor relief in these inland towns. Such an inference would be, however, not strictly in accord with the facts. Poverty did exist and the sums appropriated each year by the towns for the support of the paupers were large as compared with the other items in their budgets.[2] This poverty, however,

[1] Tudor says of "the hired people," Letters on the Eastern States, p. 405: "These latter were seldom born, and seldom died, servants; they served for a time, till their wages would enable them to begin clearing land for a farm." Dwight, also, has a significant paragraph on the character of the labor force in New England. He says: "We have in New England no such class of men as on the eastern side of the Atlantic are denominated peasantry. The number of those, who are mere labourers, is almost nothing, except in a few populous towns; and almost all these are collected from the shiftless, the idle, and the vicious. A great part of them are foreigners. Here every apprentice originally intends to establish, and with scarcely an exception actually establishes himself in business. Every seaman designs to become, and a great proportion of them really become, masters and mates of vessels; and every young man hired to work upon a farm, aims steadily to acquire a farm for himself, and hardly one fails of the acquisition." Travels, IV. 335.

[2] In the six towns of Middlesex County, Conn., the expense of poor relief varied from $400 to $1,700 in 1814, amounting on the average to a per capita tax of $0.366 (Field, Statistical Account of Middlesex County, p. 23); in Litchfield, Conn., there were 38 paupers in a population of 4,500, whose annual support cost $1,500 in 1811. (Morris, Statistical Account of Litchfield, p. 107.) The figures quoted by Adams, Episodes, II, 729, 912–913, for Quincy, Mass., seem quite exceptional. Here the expense of the poor increased from $1,000 in 1812 to $1,665 in 1813, being equal at the later date to the combined appropriations for the church and the schools. During the six years 1808–1813 the total amount of taxes raised in this town was $18,200 and of this over one-third went for poor relief. The population of this town was 1,300 in 1810. In the town of Kingston, in the same county (population 1,300 in 1810), the expense of poor relief averaged only $600 at this date. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II. 3: 215.

In interpreting these figures allowance must be made for the expensive practice of farming out the town poor, which regularly prevailed. Only in the largest towns, such as New Haven and Middletown in Connecticut, had almshouses been erected. The best contemporary description of the various methods of poor relief employed is found in Field, Op. cit., pp. 22–24.

was of a different sort from that to which we are accustomed nowadays. It was not primarily, nor to as great a degree as at present, due to economic pressure, or to maladjustments in the industrial system. It was comparatively easy for any able-bodied person of energetic disposition and temperate habits to earn a tolerable subsistence. The paupers of that time included principally that class of persons whom we now class as unemployable; the mentally or physically incapable, the insane and the feeble-minded, the cripples, the orphans and the aged. There were no insane asylums, orphanages, homes for incurables or for old persons; consequently these unfortunates, if no relatives were present who were able or willing to support them, fell on the town for support. And besides these there were those who had become enslaved to the current vice of drunkenness.[1]

The Vice of Intemperance—Its Causes.

"The intemperance of the colonial period," says Charles Francis Adams, "is a thing now difficult to realize; and it seems to have pervaded all classes from the clergy to the pauper."[2] We have already remarked the large consumption of cider in the farmers' families and have commented upon the importance of the retail sale of stronger liquors in the business of the country stores and taverns. Every important occasion in home or church life, every rural festivity was utilized as an opportunity for generous indulgence in intoxicants. Neither the haying-season in early summer, nor the hog-killing season at the end of autumn could be successfully managed without the aid of liberal potations of "black-strap" and "stone-wall." Husking bees, house-raisings, training days, and even christenings, burials and ordinations were often disgraced by the drunkenness of participants.[3]

[1] The Rev. Mr. Goodrich wrote of the town of Ridgefield: "The number of poor who receive aid from the town do not excede 10 or 12 of which number 2 or 3 receive their whole support. . . . we have no poor that are chargeable but what become so by bodily imbecility." Statistical Account, p. 17. On this point Tudor wrote: "There are few persons here, who can suffer absolute distress from poverty. That which arises among the wealthier classes, from great reverses, I am not considering; but an uncertainty about the common means of subsistence can never happen in the country, except to the miserable drunkard, or the unfortunate victim of some bodily or mental infirmity, who of course are supported by the public when destitute of friends; the labouring man, with good health and good habits, may always obtain the comforts of life, and increase his savings." Letters on the Eastern States, p. 407.

[2] Episodes, II. 785.

[3] See Adams, Episodes, II. pp. 783–794. The annual numbers of the Old Farmer's Almanack are full of admonitions against drunkenness. See also Harriott, Struggles through Life, II. 205–206.

The craving for stimulants with its disastrous results on the fortunes of individuals and on the general moral tone of the community proceeded partly from the coarse and unvaried diet of the farming population, and probably to a larger extent, from a desire to relieve at least temporarily the dreary monotony of village life. There are always two opposing views current among the older generation concerning the relative virtues of their early days as compared with the conditions which they see about them in their declining years. Some look back to a sort of Golden Age and view all the features of the past through rose-colored spectacles. Others with a more optimistic frame of mind are quite willing to admit that the passage of the years has brought improvement along many lines and do not hesitate to glory in the progress that has been achieved under their eyes during a long life. One of the best sources of information concerning the character of social life in the inland towns a century ago are the memorial discourses delivered upon the centennial and other anniversary celebrations of the inland towns and of their churches. In these discourses we find both of the opposing views presented. There are probably elements of truth in both, but as far as the general features of social life are concerned and their effect in stimulating or in depressing the individual, the latter view seems to be more in accord with the facts as we know them.

The Rev. Mr. Storrs, in reviewing a pastorate of fifty years in the town of Braintree, Mass., said: "And when it is remembered that fifty years ago, and for many after years, no post office blessed the town, nor public conveyance for letters, papers, or persons, was to be had, even semi-weekly, except through villages two miles distant; that but for the occasional rumbling of a butcher's cart, or a tradesman's wagon, the fall of the hammer on the lap-stone, or the call of the plowman to his refractory team, our streets had well nigh rivaled the graveyard in silence, it can scarcely surprise one, that our knowledge of the outer world was imperfect, nor that general intelligence and enterprise was held at a discount; and if powder, kettle drums, and conch-shells, proclaimed the celebration of a wedding; or if wine, and 'spirits more dangerous than any from the vasty deep,' were imbibed at funerals to quiet the nerves and move the lachrymals of attendants; or if rowdyism and fisticuffs triumphed over law and order on town meeting, muster and election days, ... it was but the legitimate outflow of combined ignorance and heaven daring

recklessness. Those days are passed and shame throws its thick mantle over them."[1]

Tendencies Toward Social Degeneration.

An isolated community always tends toward social degeneration, and the drunkenness, rowdyism, and general coarseness of manners of the inland towns at this time were but premonitions of the more disastrous results which might be expected from economic and social stagnation. At no time in these communities was there a distinct criminal class, of the type now technically known as degenerate; but petty crimes, stealing, assaults and disturbances were of frequent occurrence.[2] There are many indications that the influence of the church was decadent. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ecclesiastical organization had secured, by means of a censorship of the private life of its members so inquisitorial as to seem nowadays intolerable, fairly submissive adherence to a rigid code of morality. With the decline in the authority of the church in matters of doctrine came also a weakening in its control over the conduct of its adherents.[3]

Another cause of laxity in morals, of probably greater importance, was the general spirit of lawlessness spreading over the country after the Revolution, which seems especially to have affected the country districts. The soldiers returning from the war found it hard to settle down and get their living honestly in the previous humdrum routine. They brought back with them new and often vicious habits which the rest of the community imitated. Then, in the interval between the overturn of the regularly constituted colonial authori-

[1] Fiftieth Anniversary of the Ordination and Settlement of Richard S. Storrs, D.D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Braintree, Mass. July 3, 1861. Boston, 1861. pp. 32–33.

[2] The records of the town courts, where accessible, are a rich source of evidence on this point. See Wood, Sumner Gilbert. The Taverns and Turnpikes of Old Blanford, pp. 188–205.

[3] Dwight, Travels, IV. 380, writes: "Crimes, to a considerable extent are now practised, avowed, and vindicated, are made the materials of a jest, and gloried in as proofs of ingenuity and independence, which our ancestors knew only by report, and of which they spoke only with horror. Inferior deviations from rectitude are become extensively familiar, and regarded as things of course." The cause which the writer ascribes for this state of things is the growing spirit of infidelity. He adds: "From these and other causes, we have lost that prompt energy in behalf of what is right, and that vigorous hostility to what is wrong, which were so honourable traits in the character of those who have gone before us." (p. 381).

ties and the establishment of the national government under the new federal constitution, there was a period of semi-anarchy, when obedience to any sort of law was difficult to enforce. The disrespect for authority in both church and state which arose from these conditions could not fail to have a distinctly bad influence on the moral conditions in inland towns. In the disturbances of those days the inland farmer was generally to be found on the side of rebellion, and active in opposing a reëstablishment of law and order.[1]

Virtues of the Age of Homespun.

Too much emphasis must not be laid upon the dark features of the community life of these times. Undoubtedly there were many advantages arising from the homogeneous construction of society, from the uniformity of the inhabitants in race, religion and manners, and from the absence of class distinctions based on differences in wealth. The inland villages were by no means entirely lacking in opportunities for helpful and stimulating social intercourse; but it was from the home rather than from the community life that the principal virtues of the agricultural population, of which their descendants have been so justly proud, were chiefly derived. First of all, no child could grow up in the self-sufficient household of those days without being thoroughly trained in habits of frugality and economy. In his sermon, "The Age of Homespun," Horace Bushnell wrote: "It was also a great point, in this homespun mode of life that it imparted exactly what many speak of only with contempt, a closely girded habit of economy. Harnessed, all together, in the producing process, young and old, male and female, from the boy that rode the plow-horse, to the grandmother knitting under her spectacles, they had no conception of squandering lightly what they had all been at work, thread by thread, and grain by grain, to produce. They knew too exactly what every thing cost, even small things, not to husband them carefully."[2]

This frugality did at times develop into meanness, but not necessarily so; and whatever tendencies may have existed in this direction were to a certain degree offset by another characteristic which such households and such communities developed, that of mutual helpfulness. In a community where the services of the specialized pro-

[1] Take, for instance, Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts, 1786–1787. See Fiske, John. The Critical Period in American History. Boston. 1898, pp. 192–198.

[2] Work and Play, p. 395.

fessions to which we are accustomed, such as those of the trained nurse or of the funeral director, for instance, were entirely lacking, the deficiency was made up by the voluntary offices of neighbors. It was turn and turn about. Such services were rarely if ever paid for, but the understanding was that the person or family receiving the service stood ready to render similar services willingly when occasion should arise. The practices of neighborly coöperation in the extraordinary tasks of farm labor, such as in raising buildings and in "changing works" of all sorts; the custom of parceling out portions of slaughtered animals so as to equalize consumption and decrease waste; all these arrangements were, we have seen, direct results of the farmers' necessity of adapting themselves to the self-sufficient conditions of their life. Indirectly, a helpful and neighborly spirit was stimulated.

Educative Effects.

In its educative effects the self-sufficient household produced certain results which the more formal training of our modern homes and schools has never been able to approximate. In the first place, it inculcated habits of self-reliance and an ability to bear responsibility. In large families where the various tasks of the house and farm were apportioned to each member of the family according to his strength and ability, even the little children were taught early that for the performance of their particular tasks they were to be strictly accountable. It was a hard discipline often, and perhaps it developed too early a serious way of taking life, but under proper control it evolved a race of men strong and independent.

The Importance of the Mechanical Ingenuity of the Yankee Farmer in the Future Industrial Development of New England.

We have already spoken of the mechanical ingenuity of the Yankee farmer. It arose just as immediately as these other characteristics from the necessities of getting a complete living from the products of a single farm, and from the lack of any clearly marked division of labor in the rural communities.[1] Of the many contributions of the

[1] It may be objected that there have been many cases of isolated communities whose inhabitants have not shown themselves especially ingenious along mechanical lines. Instances coming readily to mind are the Boers of the Transvaal and the mountaineers of eastern Tennessee. But it will be found that such communities were in many important respects not comparable with the towns of southern New England. Although suffering under the same inability to export foodstuffs, and consequently feeling the same necessity of making use of ingen-

Age of Homespun to the future industrial development of New England, this characteristic of mechanical ingenuity was perhaps the most important. The stage of self-sufficiency was in many ways a period of preparation for the coming era. The land had all been cleared and settled; a considerable amount of capital had been accumulated in the commercial towns, ready for investment in new enterprises which might prove more successful than commerce; stable and efficient legal and political institutions had been organized; and finally the population had been trained in habits of frugality, economy and industry. But it was the presence of inventive ingenuity which seems to have aided the growth of manufacturing in New England more than any of these. The ability to devise a means to an end; to invent and perfect all sorts of tools and appliances, was originally turned to account only in more efficiently supplying the needs of the household or the surrounding community. When, however, the growing prosperity of the cotton planters in the Southern states opened a market for manufactured goods; when the ingenious farmer-mechanics of the inland towns of southern New England learned that they could get a living, and a much better living than that derived from agriculture by the sale of the fruits of their skill over a wide area, then this inventive ingenuity became utilized in the establishment and development of numberless enterprises and showed itself as a most valuable asset in industrial progress.

ious contrivances in satisfying their own wants, these three communities differed widely in the advantages of education, of communal life and perhaps also in the inborn qualities of their people. Neither the colonists of the South African republic, nor the rural folk of the Tennessee mountains enjoyed the widespread common-school education with its consequent high level of intelligence, nor the close association in village communities, both of which must have favored the development of intellectual talents of all sorts,—among them inventiveness,—among the Yankee farmers. It may be also that the original settlers of New England, coming as they did largely from urban districts in the mother country, transmitted to their descendants a superior knowledge of the technical processes of the ordinary crafts, and perhaps certain favoring physiological and psychological characteristics.

More important than these considerations, in my opinion, is the fact that the commercial isolation of the New England towns was not as complete as that of the other two communities mentioned. For their foodstuffs, the farmers of the inland towns of southern New England had practically no market. For small manufactured wares, however, there was a market in the coast towns and in the Southern states. Consequently in the production of wooden-ware and tin-ware, of hats and shoes, of buttons, clocks and other Yankee notions for these markets, opportunity was given for the full fruition of that mechanical ingenuity which germinated in the favoring atmosphere of the self-sufficient farms.

The Home Market.

With the growth of manufactures in the inland towns of southern New England came the rise of a specialized non-agricultural population and a market for the farmer was created, not far away in the Southern states or in the West Indies, but right at home, often in his own town. And thus came to an end the Age of Homespun, the era of commercial isolation. It was not a change accomplished in a single decade; in many out-of-the-way villages conditions remained practically constant until 1840 or 1850; but in 1810 an era of change had set in. From that time to the Civil War an Industrial Revolution was in progress, comparable in scope and in its effects to that which had preceded it by a half-century in England.

APPENDIX A.

Population Statistics of Southern New England. 1810.

Table I.

Population by States.

Massachusetts	*472,040
Connecticut	261,942
Rhode Island	76,931
Total	810,913

* Not including Maine.

Table II.

Population in Towns Grouped According to Size.

	NO. TOWNS IN GROUP	POPULATION OF GROUP	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION
Group A. Towns over 10,000	3	56,000	6.90
Group B. Towns 5,000–10,000	11	68,500	8.45
Group C. Towns 3,000– 5,000	38	141,800	17.50
Group D. Towns under 3,000	385	544,700	67.15
Total, all groups	437	811,000	100.00

Table III.

Population of the Towns in the Various Groups.

Group A.

Boston, Mass.	33,250
Salem, Mass.	12,673
Providence, R. I.	10,071

Group B.

New Bedford, Mass.	5,651
Gloucester, Mass.	5,943
Marblehead, Mass.	5,900
Newbury, Mass.	5,176
Newburyport, Mass.	7,634
Nantucket, Mass.	6,807
Bridgewater, Mass.	5,157
Hartford, Conn.	6,003
Middletown, Conn.	5,382
New Haven, Conn.	6,967
Newport, R. I.	7,907

TABLE III—*Continued.*

Group C.

Barnstable, Mass.	3,446
Dartmouth, Mass.	3,219
Rehoboth, Mass.	4,866
Taunton, Mass.	3,907
Andover, Mass.	3,164
Beverly, Mass.	4,608
Danvers, Mass.	3,127
Ipswich, Mass.	3,569
Lynn, Mass.	4,087
West Springfield, Mass.	3,109
Charlestown, Mass.	4,959
Roxbury, Mass.	3,669
Middleborough, Mass.	4,400
Plymouth, Mass.	4,228
Scituate, Mass.	3,000
Brookfield, Mass.	3,170
Chatham, Conn.	3,258
Danbury, Conn.	3,606
East Hartford, Conn.	3,240
East Windsor, Conn.	3,081
Fairfield, Conn.	4,125
Greenwich, Conn.	3,553
Groton, Conn.	4,451
Guilford, Conn.	3,845
Litchfield, Conn.	4,639
Lyme, Conn.	4,321
New London, Conn.	3,238
New Milford, Conn.	3,537
Norwalk, Conn.	3,000
Norwich, Conn.	3,528
Preston, Conn.	3,284
Saybrook, Conn.	3,996
Stamford, Conn.	4,440
Stonington, Conn.	3,043
Wethersfield, Conn.	3,961
Warwick, R. I.	3,757
Smithfield, R. I.	3,828
South Kingston, R. I.	3,560

APPENDIX B.

Emigration from the Inland Towns in Southern New England. 1720–1820.

Shifting of Population Within Southern New England—1720–1775.

There had been a steady expansion of population in Massachusetts from the oldest settlements on the coast toward new lands to the westward, until by 1720 all the best land east of the Connecticut Valley had been occupied. The new home-seekers wanted not only land but good land; hence many parts of Worcester County were left unsettled until a later period.[1] In Connecticut the oldest settlements along the Connecticut River at Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield, and the colony at New Haven, had radiated their surplus in all directions. Before 1720, however, most of the emigrants from these original settlements had gone to the east and the north where they met the settlers from Massachusetts and filled up the townships in Windham, Tolland and New London Counties. About 1720 or 1730 the pressure of population began to be felt in this region, too, and the tide of emigration swung to the west and northwest. Litchfield County in Connecticut then became the destination of the surplus. So we find in the years 1719–1721 families from Lebanon joining with those from Hartford and Windsor in settling the new town of Litchfield.[2] A similar instance of the joining of the streams of emigration from the newer eastern towns with those from the first settlements is found in the settlement of Sharon by families from Colchester and Lebanon together with families from New Haven.[3]

The Connecticut emigrants did not, however, remain in Litchfield County until all its lands had been taken up, but following along up the Housatonic Valley, they invaded the new lands in Berkshire and Hampshire Counties in western Massachusetts, meeting there the families arriving from eastern Massachusetts, as well as some Dutch emigrants from New York. Se we find in the town of Wales settlers from Salem, Palmer and Grafton in Massachusetts and from Windham, Tolland and Union in Connecticut. In New Marlborough emigrants from Northampton and Dedham in Massachusetts met with those from Canterbury and Suffield in Connecticut; in Sandisfield the colonists were from Enfield and Wethersfield and from Cape Cod towns.[4] In this early colonization Rhode Island seems

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[1] See Mathews, Lois Kimball. The Expansion of New England. Boston, 1909. p. 79.

[2] Ibid. p. 92.

[3] Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, p. 261. This settlement was made in 1738–1739. From Durham, in Hartford County, settlers went to Torrington in 1737. See Fowler, W. C., History of Durham. Hartford, 1867, p. 209. This town lost so steadily by emigration that its population increased from 1,076 in 1774 to only 1,101 in 1810.

[4] Mathews, Op. cit., pp. 79–80.

to have taken little part. It had but a little over 7,000 people in 1708, and although much of its soil was unfertile, yet its commercial interests were so prosperous in this period that it succeeded in retaining nearly all of its natural increase. Consequently its population increased very rapidly, amounting to over 40,000 in 1755.[1]

Beginning of Movement to Northern New England.

In 1760 emigration began in earnest to lands outside the borders of the states of southern New England. The fall of Quebec in 1758 brought the war between England and France in this country practically to an end. With the fear of hostile attack, especially from the Indians, thus removed, large numbers of settlers began to move into the northern states. In New Hampshire, between 1760 and 1775, one hundred new towns were planted by colonists from Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. In Maine, ninety-four towns were founded between 1759 and 1776, principally by settlers from Massachusetts. In Vermont in the same period seventy-four new towns were settled.[2] Connecticut people went in great numbers to new homes along the upper valley of their great river, often giving the new town the name of the old home from which they had come. In Vermont alone there are now forty towns whose names repeat those of Connecticut.[3]

Even before the Revolution, the Delaware and Susquehanna companies had been organized in Connecticut and had conveyed hundreds of families from that state to new lands in northeastern Pennsylvania. The craze for emigration had led to an ill-fated attempt of some four hundred families from towns on the Connecticut River to colonize lands on the Yazoo River in Mississippi. A temporary check to the outward movement is observable during the Revolution. Even before the conclusion of peace, however, a veritable rush of emigration began to new lands in the West, in New York state and in Ohio.[4] In Pease and Niles' description of Connecticut we read: "The spirit of emigration which has prevailed so extensively in this State, disclosed itself previously to the Revolutionary war; emigration at this period being directed to the present counties of Dutchess and Columbia, in the State of New York, and the counties bordering upon Connecticut River in the State of New Hampshire. After the war, the spirit of emigration revived, and was principally directed to the western section of New Hampshire, and the territory now comprising the State of Vermont; a large proportion of the original inhabitants of these sections of our country being from Connecticut. Within the last thirty years (written in 1819),

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[1] Censuses were taken in Rhode Island in 1708, 1730, 1748, 1755, 1774, 1776, 1782. These were all reprinted in the Report on the Census of Rhode Island, 1865. Prepared by Edwin M. Snow, Providence, 1867, p. xxxii.

[2] These facts are from Mathews, Expansion of New England, pp. 108–115.

[3] See Memorial History of Hartford County, I. 203.

[4] The inland newspapers such as the Massachusetts Spy, the Windham Herald, the Pittsfield Sun, and the Litchfield Monitor contain regularly advertisements of lands for sale in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Ohio in the years 1800–1810. The advertisements of farms for sale in the New England towns in which these papers were printed, show the process of exchange of old for new land which was taking place.

the current of emigration from this State has swelled to a torrent, and has been directed principally to the westward."[1] This movement continued in great volume until checked, temporarily, by the growth of manufactures in the decades after 1810.

Volume of Emigration Shown by Early Census Figures.

The results of this wholesale movement of people are observable in a comparison of early census figures in the states of southern New England. In Connecticut the earliest census was taken in 1756.[2] It gave the total population of the colony as 129,925 persons. At the next census, 1774,[3] this number had increased to 197,872, showing a growth of 52 per cent in eighteen years, a decennial rate of increase of 29 per cent. If we assume that population was in reality increasing at this period at a rate very near the physiological maximum, that is, doubling itself every twenty-five years, we may take the "natural" rate of increase to have been about 40 per cent in each decade. This would lead us to believe that even at that early date the state was losing about 11 per cent of its decennial increase.

The same state of affairs prevailed in Rhode Island. From 1708 to 1755 the increase was very rapid, as we have seen, averaging about 107 per cent per decennium. In the years 1755 to 1774 the population increased from 40,414 to 59,707, or at a decennial rate of 25.1 per cent.[4] Emigration was evidently taking place from this state in even greater volume than from Connecticut.

Massachusetts was increasing in this period more rapidly in population than either of her neighbors. Although she did not retain a larger proportion of her own annual increase, yet her loss from emigration was very nearly offset by her gains from the states on her southern borders. In 1764 the population of this state was 201,984;[5] and in 1784 it was 346,653.[6] The increase in these two decades was 71.6 per cent, or 35.8 per cent in each ten years.

After the Revolution.

A striking contrast is presented by an examination of the growth of population in these states after the Revolution. As we have seen, it was then that the emigrants from the older towns tended to push on beyond the boundaries of their own states and to settle in Northern or Western states. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that the population of Connecticut increased but 20.2 per cent in these sixteen years, at a decennial rate of 12.6 per cent, and that Rhode Island gained but 15.3 per cent in the same period, 9.6 per cent per decennium. In Massachusetts emigration was about as great in proportion to its population, for in the six years, 1784 to 1790, it increased but 9.3 per cent, or at a decennial

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[1] Gazetteer, p. 11.

[2] Contained in Conn. Col. Public Records, Vol. XIV, p. 492.

[3] Ibid. pp. 485–491.

[4] These figures are from Snow, Census of Rhode Island, pp. xxxii.

[5] This census is reprinted in A Century of Population Growth, pp. 158–162.

[6] This figure is estimated by Dr. Chickering from the number of rateable and non-rateable polls returned by an enumeration in that year. See Chickering, Jesse. A Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1840. Boston. 1846, p. 10.

rate of 11.6 per cent. Taking the combined figures for Rhode Island and Connecticut, we find that before the Revolution the population of these states was increasing at the rate of 28.4 per cent in each decade; after 1774 until 1790 the increase was only 11.9 per cent per decennium. This slackening in growth seems to have been due principally if not entirely to the increased emigration. The statistics for Massachusetts agree in general with these figures.

The continuance of emigration in the years 1790–1820 may be observed in the slow rate of growth of southern New England as compared with the increase of population throughout the United States.

TABLE I.[1]

	1790	1800	1810	1820
Massachusetts	378,787	422,845	472,040	523,287
Connecticut	237,946	251,002	261,942	275,248
Rhode Island	68,825	69,122	76,931	83,059
Total	685,558	742,969	810,913	881,594

The increase per cent in each decade was as follows:

TABLE II.

	1790 TO 1800	1800 TO 1810	1810 TO 1820
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*
Massachusetts	11.6	11.6	10.9
Connecticut	5.5	4.4	5.1
Rhode Island	0.0	11.3	8.0
Southern New England	12.8	9.1	8.7
United States	35.1	36.4	33.1

Statistical Estimate of Emigration, 1790–1820.

So great had this colonizing movement become by 1810 that a number of attempts had been made to estimate statistically its amount.[2] The method usually adopted was the application to these states of the rate of increase observed over the United States as a whole. Thus a figure was obtained which represented the population which these states would have had, had there been no emigration. The total increase in population throughout the country in the years 1790–1820 was 145.6 per cent. There seems no reason for believing that the natural increase was any less in southern New England than elsewhere. Certainly with such an outlet for surplus population as emigration afforded, and with such a readiness to emigrate as the inhabitants of these states displayed, there could have been but slight operation of any preventive check. Nor does it appear that the death

[1] These figures are from the Abstract of the 13th U. S. Census, pp. 24-25. As in all other computations in this essay, the figures for Massachusetts do not include the population of the District of Maine.

[2] As in Burdick, William. The Massachusetts Manual. Boston. 1814. I. 179; and in Blodget, Economica, p. 79.

rate was any higher here. In fact, the conditions were far more favorable for the survival of children than on the frontier. If we may assume that the population of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut did increase by 145.6 per cent in the years 1790–1820, then, had there been no emigration, the census of 1820 would have shown a total for the three states of 1,681,673 persons. As a matter of fact this total was only 881,594. Consequently according to this computation the loss by emigration in the thirty years must have been 800,000 persons.

Economic Aspects of Emigration—Agricultural Regions Lost Most Heavily.

For the purposes of this essay our interest in this movement of population is centered in its relations to the economic conditions prevailing in the country towns. Is there any evidence to show that the purely agricultural inland regions were affected more or less than those on the rivers and on the coast? If so, what light do these differences shed on the causes of emigration?

There is an abundance of evidence to prove that the counties and towns on the rivers and the coast lost far less by emigration than the inland country. Taking three inland counties in Connecticut, Litchfield, Windham and Tolland; we find that their total population amounted in 1790 to 80,782. Twenty years later,[1] it was 81,285, an increase of 503 persons or $\frac{6}{10}$ of one per cent. In the same period two coast counties and one river county, Fairfield, New Haven and Hartford, increased from 105,109 to 122,747, or 16.8 per cent.

TABLE III.

Population Growth in Inland and Coast Counties.

	INLAND COUNTIES		
	1790	1800	1810
Litchfield	38,755	41,214	41,375
Windham	28,921	28,222	26,111
Tolland	13,106	14,319	13,799
Total	80,782	83,755	81,285

	COAST AND RIVER COUNTIES		
Fairfield	36,250	38,208	40,950
Hartford	38,029	42,147	44,733
New Haven	30,830	32,162	37,064
Total	105,109	112,517	122,747

[1] I have limited the inquiry to the two decades because of the influence which the growth of manufactures was already beginning to exert in the decade 1810–1820. In the case of Tolland and Windham counties there were some changes in boundary lines between 1790 and 1810; the figures given are for the areas as of 1790.

Narrowing the scope of our inquiry to the towns, we find the same situation. Wherever there was a chance for some additional employment for the inhabitants besides agriculture, there the loss from emigration was much less than in purely agricultural towns. Contrast, for instance, the towns of Farmington and Danbury in Connecticut. The former, situated in a rich river valley,[1] contained in 1790 2,700 people, who got their living entirely from agriculture. In 1810, twenty years later, the population was 2,750; the increase had been less than 2 per cent. In Danbury there was in 1790 a population of 3,031. In 1810 there were 3,606 persons on the same area. The increase in twenty years was almost 20 per cent. As far as the productivity of the agricultural industry was concerned, both towns were on an equal footing.[2] In area Farmington had clearly the advantage, containing 70 square miles while Danbury had only 58.[3] The reason why a large part of the surplus of population stayed at home in Danbury while almost all the growing generation emigrated from Farmington is to be found in the presence in the former of a manufacturing enterprise, the hatters' shops.[4]

Population Changes in Commercial and Inland Towns.

The same sort of contrast is found between commercial and inland towns. Such towns as New Haven, Providence, Salem and Boston gained rapidly in population and do not seem to have been in any appreciable degree affected by the emigration which was draining the backcountry districts.[5] Here we find the growing prosperity of commerce as a force retaining the natural increase of population. But even the small towns along the coast, where, as we have seen, there was not enough commercial business to employ any considerable proportion of the population, grew steadily during this period. Consider, for example, the contrast between the towns of Lebanon and Greenwich, in Connecticut. Both of these towns included about the same area, 50 square miles. The inhabitants of both were mainly farmers; those in Lebanon entirely so, and in Greenwich with the exception of the owners of twelve or fifteen small sloops trading to New York. In the years 1790–1810 the population of Lebanon decreased from 4,156 to 3,414, a loss of over 20 per cent; in the same years Greenwich had increased from 3,175 to 3,553, a gain of nearly 12 per cent. The decline of the former town cannot be explained on the ground that its soil was less fertile than that of the latter.[6] The explanation of this difference is to be found in the fact that the farmers of

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[1] For a description of Farmington see Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, p. 71.

[2] Pease and Niles, Gazetteer, pp. 176–178.

[3] Op. cit., loc. cit.

[4] See supra pp. 269–270. Another inland town which increased steadily in this period was Berlin, the center of the tinware manufacture. Its population in 1790 was 2,465; in 1810 it was 2,900.

[5] The increase in population of New Haven 1790–1810 amounted to 55 per cent; in Providence the gain was 57 per cent. Boston gained 86 per cent and Salem 59 per cent.

[6] Of agricultural conditions in Lebanon we read: "The soil is generally a rich deep, unctuous mould, nearly of a chocolate colour; it is very fertile and peculiarly adapted to grass." Pease and Niles, art. Lebanon.

Greenwich had a market close at hand in the city of New York,[1] easily accessible by water transportation on the Sound; whereas Lebanon was fifteen or more miles from Norwich, the nearest port.

The Influence of a Market for Foodstuffs.

In Massachusetts a similar contrast may be made between the towns of Brookfield in Worcester County, and Waltham in Middlesex County.[2] In the matter of area and in fertility of soil Brookfield seems to have had the advantage. Neither town had any industrial or manufacturing enterprises, beyond the usual artisans' shops found in every inland town.[3] The population changes in these towns in the years 1790–1810 were, in spite of these similarities, quite different. In Brookfield a population of 3,100 persons increased to 3,170; in Waltham there were at the first date 882 people and at the second 1,014. The gain in one case was between 2 and 3 per cent and in the other almost 15 per cent. The explanation is found again in the presence of a market accessible to the farmers of Waltham. This market they found in Boston, only ten miles distant, whereas their colleagues in Brookfield were fifty-five miles farther away. That this market was in fact influential in increasing the prosperity and the productiveness of the agricultural industry in Waltham is apparent from the description of a contemporary writer. He says: "As most of the inhabitants are farmers, and cultivate their farms with a view to the constant supply of the market of the metropolis, the fruits of their labours are various . . . . The state of agriculture has been improving among our farmers, for several years. The residence of gentleman farmers in this town and vicinity has undoubtedly contributed to this improvement; but the chief causes are the increasing demands of the market and the enhancing price of labour, which have taught the owners of the soil, that it is more profitable to cultivate a few acres highly, than many in the ordinary way."[4]

Summary of Population Changes, 1790–1820.

In summarizing the movement of population in the three southern states of New England in the period 1720–1820 we find: (1) In the forty years, 1720–1760, emigration was confined largely within the borders of the states, resulting merely in a redistribution, a shifting of the surplus from the older towns to new lands in the western counties. (2) After 1760 this process of settling new land within these states continued with great rapidity, but some of the more adventurous colonists were already moving out to found new towns in northern New England and in states to the westward. (3) Where as, up to the Revolution, this emigration to more distant regions had assumed no very great proportions, after peace had been concluded it began with new vigor and from that time until

[1] Pease and Niles say of the coasting trade of this town: "This trade is a great convenience to the farmers, as it affords them a great facility for conveying their produce to New York. Gazetteer, p. 180.

[2] The facts regarding Waltham are from the description of that town contained in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II. 3: 261–284; for Brookfield from Whitney's History of the County of Worcester, pp. 62–82.

[3] The cotton mills were first established in Waltham in 1812 and 1813. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., loc. cit.

[4] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II. 3: 262–263.

1820 continued at such a rate as to leave the population of these states practically stationary. (4) The migratory movement was felt much more strongly in inland counties than on the coast, because of the entire reliance of the former on agriculture. (5) Among the agricultural towns, those which had a market for their products suffered far less severely from emigration than other towns not so favorably situated.

Emigration the Result of a Crippled State of Agriculture.

In this phenomenon of emigration, therefore, we have another feature of the social and economic life of southern New England which was caused directly by the dependence of the entire community on a single industry, agriculture. There was, as we have seen, no division of labor sufficient either to furnish a market for agricultural products within the rural town, or to create a non-agricultural population in industrial towns and cities. There was, indeed, a small market in the commercial towns on the coast and another somewhat larger in the West Indies and the Southern states, but their combined demands were not sufficient to influence to any appreciable degree the life of the farmers in inland towns. The results of this state of affairs upon the agricultural industry are considered in Chapter V. List has called this condition "a crippled state of agriculture," and goes on to show how the inevitable result is emigration. He says: "By a *crippled state of agriculture*[1] we mean that state of things in which, from want of a powerful and steadily developing manufacturing industry, the entire increase of population tends to throw itself on agriculture for employment, consumes all the surplus agricultural production of the country, and as soon as it has considerably increased either has to emigrate or share with the agriculturists already in existence the land immediately at hand, till the landed property of every family has become so small that it produces only the most elementary and necessary portion of that family's requirements of food and raw materials, but no considerable surplus which it might exchange with the manufacturers for the manufactured products which it requires."[2]

That the causes of this great loss of population were essentially economic was realized by contemporary writers. Various travelers had remarked that the southern states in New England were, at the end of the eighteenth century, fully settled. For instance, La Rochefoucauld wrote: "Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts have at present nearly their due quantum of population."[3] One especially clear-minded writer had, as early as 1789, anticipated the only remedy for the outward movement. He wrote: "Our lands are cleared and settled; our farms in general will not bear a further division; unless there be some new resource, our most active, industrious and enterprising young men . . . . will emigrate to those new parts of the continent where there is more vacant territory."[4]

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[1] Author's italics.

[2] List, Friedrich. The National System of Political Economy. Translated by S. S. Lloyd. London. 1885. pp. 154–155.

[3] Travels, II. 195. See also Carey, American Pocket Atlas, p. 46; Morse, Gazetteer, 1810, art. Connecticut; American Husbandry, I. 47.

[4] Quoted from an anonymous letter dated at Hartford, Connecticut, printed in the American Museum. Vol. VIII., p. 25.

Other Causes of Emigration.

Combined with the economic motive, the demand for new soil, were undoubtedly others more psychological in nature. Some men were unable to fit into the rigid, Puritanical social and ecclesiastical systems. They emigrated in order to breathe the freer, more unconventional atmosphere of the pioneer communities. Others were simply infected by the contagious spirit; their friends had gone or were going; they too wanted to see the new country and to live its new life. Dwight takes account of these and other motives in the following passage from his Travels: "In the formation of colonies, those, who are first inclined to emigrate, are usually such as have met with difficulties at home. These are commonly joined by persons, who, having large families and small farms, are induced, for the sake of settling their children comfortably, to seek for new and cheaper lands. To both are always added the discontented, the enterprising, the ambitious, and the covetous. Many of the first, and some of all these classes, are found in every new American country, within ten years after its settlement has commenced. From this period, kindred, friendship, and former neighbourhood, prompt others to follow them. Others, still, are allured by the prospect of gain, presented in every new country to the sagacious, from the purchase and sale of new lands; while not a small number are influenced by the brilliant stories, which everywhere are told concerning most tracts during the early progress of their settlement."[1]

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[1] Travels, II. 439. In the succeeding pages, 439–443, one may read a description of the successive stages in the settlement of new land, from pioneering to ultimate cultivation in well-settled communities, which has attained the rank of a classic in economic history.

APPENDIX C.

Partial List of Works on Agriculture Published in the United States Before 1815.[1]

A. General Works.

Bordley, John Beale. Essays on Husbandry and Rural Affairs. Philadelphia. 1791. 536 pp. 2 ed. 1801.

Bowler, Metcalf. Treatise on Agriculture and Practical Husbandry. Providence. 1786.

Dabney, J. Address to Farmers. pp. 64. Salem. 1796.

Deane, Samuel. The New England Farmer; or, Georgical Dictionary: pp. 335. Worcester. 1790. 2 ed. 1797 (3 ed. 1822).

Eliot, Jared. Essays on Field Husbandry in New England. Boston. 1760. 2 ed. 1761.

Enfield, Edward. An Inquiry in to the State of Farms: to the Farmers of New Hampshire. Boston. 1812.

Everett, David. Common Sense in Dishabille: or, The Farmer's Monitor. Worcester. 1799.

Gleanings from the Most Celebrated Book on Husbandry. Philadelphia. 1803.

Hirzel, Hans Kaspar. The Rural Socrates. Hallowell (Me.). 1800.

Hunter, A. Georgical Essays. 6 vols. New York. 1803–1804.

Moore, T. Gross Error of American Agriculture Exposed. Baltimore. 1801.

Parkinson, Richard. The Experienced Farmer. Philadelphia. 1799.

Roberts, Job. The Pennsylvania Farmer. Philadelphia. 1804.

Spurriers, —— The Practical Farmer. Worcester. 1792.

Taylor, Col. John. Arator. Baltimore. 3 ed. 1817.

(Thomfson, Charles) Notes on Farming, pp. 38. New York. 1787.

Warren, General J(ames) Observations on Agriculture. In American Museum. Vol. II. 1788.

B. Special Works.

Abstract of a Late Treatise on Hemp. Boston. 1766.

Affert, M. The Art of Preserving Animal and Vegetable Substances. New York. 1812.

Anderson, James. Essay on Quick Lime as a Manure. Boston. 1799.

Bordley, John Beale. Comparative View of the Crops of England and Maryland. Philadelphia. 1784.

Sketches of a Rotation of Crops. 1797.

Treatise of Country Habitations. 1798.

Essays and Notes on American Husbandry. 1799.

Treatise on the Culture of Hemp. 1799.

Queries on the Nature and Principles of Vegetation. 1800.

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[1] This list has been taken largely from that given in U. S. Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1868, pp. 597–607.

Custis, G. W. P. Importance of Encouraging Agriculture. Alexandria. 1808.
"Farmer of Massachusetts." Complete Guide for the Management of Bees. Worcester. 1792.
Griffen, William. Treatise on the Cultivation of the Pineapple. Newark (N. J.). 1808.
—— —— Hemp. Observations on its Culture. Boston. 1766.
Logan, George. Experiments with the Best Rotation of Crops. Philadelphia. 1807.
Livingston, Robert R. Essay on Sheep. New York. 1809. 2 ed. 1810.
Mann, Thomas. Culture of the Young Thorn. Wilmington (Del.) 1807.
Minor, (Thaddeus). The Experienced Bee Keeper. Litchfield (Conn.) 1804.
Rush, Benjamin. An Account of the Sugar Maple Tree of the United States. Philadelphia. 1792.
—— —— Treatise on Silk Worms. New York. 1793.
Peters, Richard. Agricultural Inquiries on Plaster of Paris. Philadelphia. 1797.
Redd, George. Treatise on Fertilizing Poor and Exhausted Lands. Winchester (Va.). 1809.
Twanley, J. Dairying Exemplified. Providence. 1796.

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—— —— American Husbandry. 2 vols. London. 1775.

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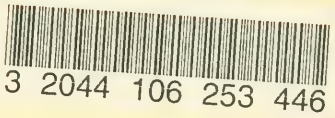
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